

*MASTER
NEGATIVE
NO. 91-80445-6*

MICROFILMED 1992

COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY LIBRARIES/NEW YORK

as part of the
"Foundations of Western Civilization Preservation Project"

Funded by the
NATIONAL ENDOWMENT FOR THE HUMANITIES

Reproductions may not be made without permission from
Columbia University Library

COPYRIGHT STATEMENT

The copyright law of the United States -- Title 17, United States Code -- concerns the making of photocopies or other reproductions of copyrighted material...

Columbia University Library reserves the right to refuse to accept a copy order if, in its judgement, fulfillment of the order would involve violation of the copyright law.

AUTHOR:

OLDMIXON, MR. (JOHN)

TITLE:

CLARENDON AND
WHITLOCK COMPAR'D

PLACE:

LONDON

DATE:

1727

Master Negative #

91-80445-6

COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY LIBRARIES
PRESERVATION DEPARTMENT

BIBLIOGRAPHIC MICROFORM TARGET

Original Material as Filmed - Existing Bibliographic Record

942.062

OL1

[Oldmixon, John, 1673-1742.

Clarendon and Whitlock compar'd. To which is occasionally added, A comparison between the History of the rebellion and other histories of the civil war. Proving very plainly, that the editors of the Lord Clarendon's History, have hardly left one fact, or one character on the Parliament side, fairly represented; that the characters are all satire, or panegyrick, and the facts adapted to the one, or the other, as suited best with their design ... By the author of the Critical history of England, &c. London, Printed for J. Pemberton, 1727.

xxxix, 344 p., 9 l. 20 $\frac{1}{2}$ cm.
1. Clarendon, Edward
History of the rebellion. 2.
History of England.

Hyde, 1st earl of, 1609-1674. His-
Whitelocke, Sir Bulstrode, 1605-1675.

Library of Congress

DA400.C614

2-23363

Restrictions on Use:

TECHNICAL MICROFORM DATA

FILM SIZE: 35m

IMAGE PLACEMENT: IA (IA) IB IIB

DATE FILMED: 2/10/92

REDUCTION RATIO: 11X

INITIALS RD

FILMED BY: RESEARCH PUBLICATIONS, INC WOODBRIDGE, CT

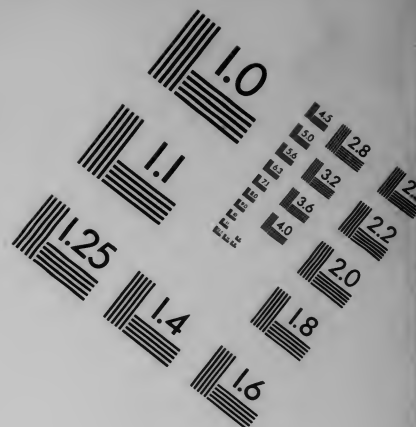
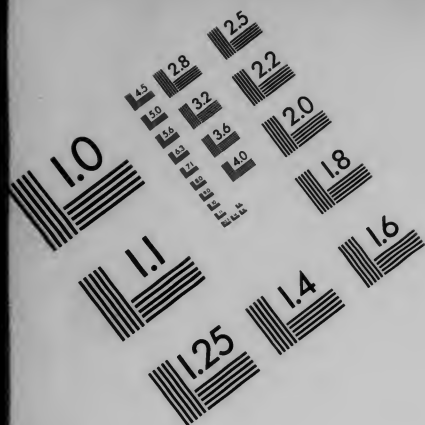


AIM

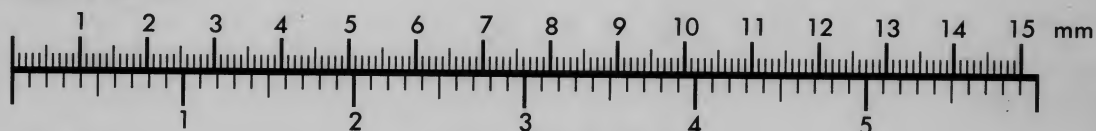
Association for Information and Image Management

1100 Wayne Avenue, Suite 1100
Silver Spring, Maryland 20910

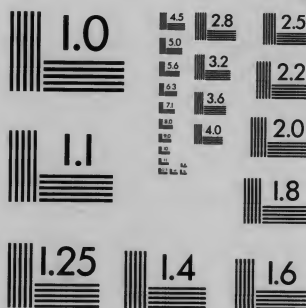
301/587-8202



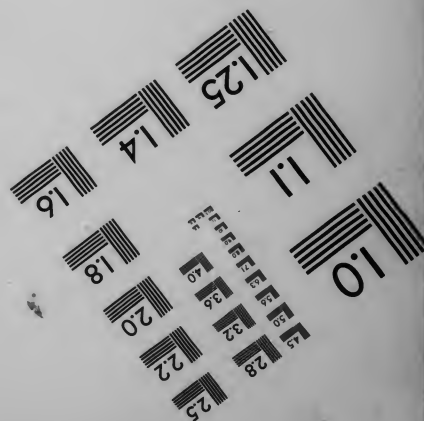
Centimeter

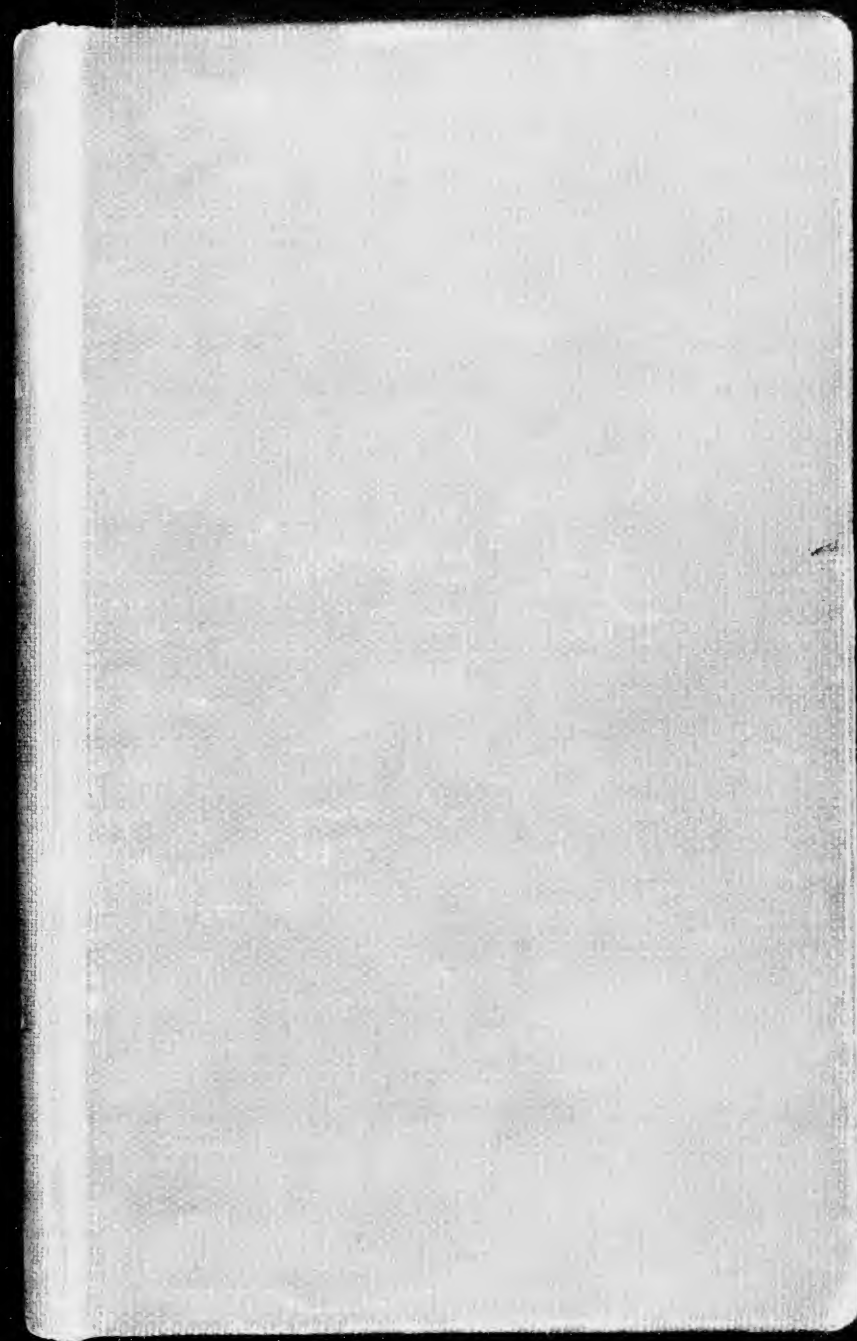


Inches



MANUFACTURED TO AIM STANDARDS
BY APPLIED IMAGE, INC.





Columbia University
in the City of New York

LIBRARY



CLARENDON *and* WHITLOCK
COMPAR'D.

(To which is occasionally added, A

COMPARISON

BETWEEN THE

HISTORY *of the* REBELLION,

AND OTHER

Histories of the Civil War.

(Proving very plainly,

That the EDITORS of the Lord CLARENDON's History, have hardly left one Fact, or one Character on the Parliament Side, fairly represented; That the Characters are all Satire, or Panegyrick, and the Facts adapted to the one, or the other, as suited best with their Design.

*Rara temporum felicitate, ubi sentire quæ velis &
quæ sentias dicere licet.*

TACIT. Lib. I.

*Nulla veritas ita diserte ulla de re cavere potest, ut
malitiosa Calliditas locum fraudi non inveniatur.*

ULPIAN.

By the AUTHOR of the CRITICAL
HISTORY OF ENGLAND, &c.

L O N D O N:

Printed for J. PEMBERTON, at the Golden Buck, over-
against St. Dunstan's-Church, in Fleet Street. 1727.

2844

942.062
011

Library of David King.
Leavitt & Co. May 21 1884

RE 10-5-77

[v]



NXB

THE
P R E F A C E.



WAS so sensible of the Charge of Presumption, which would certainly attend such an Attempt, that it was a long Time before I could be persuaded by myself or others, to undertake it.

Though I was, at the same Time, as sensible, that there was no Reason for such a Charge ; and it would be a most laudable Boldness to assert and prove the Truth, in Opposition to Party and Pre-

A 3

judice ;

against
Truth
Party
Prejudice

57488

judice ; no Name in History being privileged against Remark.

Cæsar himself was blam'd by Suetonius, for Partiality in his Commentaries : Our Royal Authors have not indeed been Cæsar's ; but what they have written has met with severe Reproof, even from Priests ; as Henry VIII. and James I.

It is suspected, that the Lord Clarendon's History was very much alter'd by the Editors at Oxford. That the Original M. S. is interpolated and raz'd in several Places, on which I lay no Stress ; though, I believe I have good Reasons to suspect it. The Gallicisms *Eclaircissement*, *Eclat*, To give into a Thing, &c. are modern, and were hardly in Use in France at that Time, in the Sense the Historian uses them.

Whether there are really any such Razures and Interpolations or not, 'tis certain, the Bent of the History was Originally the same as it is now ; and the Noble

Noble Historian wrote it with a Design to vindicate all the Male-Administration in the Reign of King Charles I. in the most effectual Manner, by allowing it in Part, and then explaining that Part away ; by supporting the Tyranny of the Priesthood, as the Right of the Church ; and Arbitrary Power, as the Prerogative of the Crown ; that Oppression and Persecution might have an Excuse, if they were again put in Practice ; which was doubtless ever in Intention, even when King Charles II. the Noble Historian, and other his Followers were in Exile, as will appear by the History of that Prince.

*Complaints
against
Clarendon*

I was long hesitating on the hard Words in the Title of this Treatise, scarce one Fact, or one Character fairly represented : And I turn'd the History of the Rebellion over and over again, to find out one that might be called Fair, which I have not yet found on the Side of the Parliament ; There is no Character, not the most Amiable and Worthy,

A 4

thy, but it has some Blemish, as Mr. Hampden's in particular, a Gentleman of so Great Parts and Merit that his very Enemies, who were not his Enemies but as he was a Lover of his Country, were forced to speak of him always with Honour. He was the most respected and beloved of any Man then living; yet the Earl of Clarendon says of him, He had a Head and a Heart fit for any Thing, either Good or Bad.

After this, I'm satisfied the Reader will not expect Fair-Dealing in his Lordship's Representations, nor Likeness in his Pictures; for those on the Cavalier Side are as much to their Advantage, as those on that of the Parliament are to their Prejudice, and both the Effect of Flattery and Resentment colour'd with fruitful Fancy and florid Expression.

Criticism of Cl's Style | That the Images were, for the most Part, produced by Fancy, appears by the

Comparison of other Histories
the Difference of Likeness in his Lordship's and other Histories, by the Abundance of them, and the Perfection which is all on one Side; it being impossible in Nature, to pick out so many Wise, Virtuous, and Valiant Men, listed in the Cause of Persecution and Oppression, and so many Blockheads and Poltrons in that of Religion and Liberty. The Thing speaks itself; yet so it is all along in the History of the Rebellion.

A Portion of Discretion more, would have Washed off some of the Spots in the Parliament's Pictures, to have brought the Whole nearer to Probability.

But Zeal and Discretion were never yet of a Company.

Having mentioned the Florid Expression, I shall surprize People in making an Objection to that Part of the History, which was never yet objected

PREFACE.

jected to; and the Reason is, because we in England have not learn'd sufficiently to distinguish between a just and a false Way of Thinking; but if it be fine, conclude it to be just, let it be never so much out of Nature; in which we may be well instructed by Pere Bouhours, Maniere de bien penser dans les Ouvrages d'Esprit, now ready for the Press, with very large Additions in English.

The Stile of the History of the Rebellion is the least Historical of any that ever deserv'd the Name of History. The Periods are some Twenty, some Thirty Lines in Length, so round, that we are lost in the Circle, as much as in a Magician's; and whenever we meet with such Declaiming in plain Story, we may be sure it is intended to amuse us, as Legerdemains make Flourishes, when they are about to play Tricks.

It

PREFACE.

It is one of the First Rules in Writing History, to be succinct and perspicuous, to keep the Narration as equal and as simple as may be, and whatever exceeds that Simplicity, is vicious and always suspected. It would not be difficult to reduce all the Facts in the History of the Rebellion, to a Tenth Part of the Words, and leave sufficient Room for sober Reflection: What then was the Occasion of the Abundance? unless it was to throw so many Flowers in the Way, that the Reader might not observe the Rottenness that was under them. Had they been the Ornament of Speeches and Harangues in Saint Stephen's Chapel, or Westminster-Hall, they had been more Natural, and more Eloquent: Where many smooth Words, and a Graceful Delivery engage Attention, the Hearers are pleas'd, if they are not convinc'd, and the Effect is often the same.

history as propaganda

But,

How history should be written

Purpose of Cls. to have business of his historical cause

Campanus burn to a priest (it is a sermon) d. polichon (it is a speech)

What the Reader expects from history
But, in History, the Reader desires only to be inform'd, and he will instruct himself, which obliges all Historians to give him no more Words than are necessary, and to leave the Reflections to himself, which he will make, not only with the more Pleasure, but consequently with the more Profit.

Lucian on history writing
Lucian, speaking of the Historical Style, is the very Reverse of the Lord Clarendon's Manner: It should be clear, intelligible, and natural, and the Figures should not be too sublime, or too far fetch'd; the Writer should fear all Enthusiasm, and excessive Strains, which are the greatest Faults of an Historian: If he would rise, let it be rather by the Things he represents, than Words. One might defy the whole College of Editors, if they were living, to give one Instance, where the Lord Clarendon rises by the Things; but I could produce Hundreds, where he rises by the Words. Lucian again, It is much

Lucian on writing history
much better to relate extraordinary Things in a plain and common Manner, than to weaken the Thought, by straining the Imagination: I would have the Periods neither too long, nor too much study'd. See the First and Second Periods in the History of the Rebellion, which would take up Pages of this Preface: The Thoughts should have more Solidity than Lustre, they should come nearer the Reasons of a Wise Statesman, than the Polite Turns of a Declaimer, Pref. to Vass. There is not the least Trace of any such Method in his Lordship's History, and I am afraid the Editors knew too little of these Rules, to find any Want of them.

Whitlock was as capable of making fine Descriptions, as the Lord Clarendon, which may be seen by his Speeches in the Memorials, and Rushworth's Collections; yet he preferr'd the most plain, and most concise Narration, having no other Design than to remember what was

Old mian on the writing of history

opening pp of

Clarendon's Criticism of it

Clarendon
method
purpose
of history

was done, and concluding that the Events would sufficiently instruct the Reader. The Earl of Clarendon's Reader could not be instructed by the bare Events; they must be put into new Lights; they must be disguis'd and adorn'd, to confirm him in the Love of Arbitrary Power, and Priest-Craft: That could not be done in an artless, narrative Stile, and therefore he has added Imagination, and Colouring; Beautiful, it is true, but with the Beauty of an Armida, as mischievous as it is fair.

Comparison
of Milton
& History

No-Body questions the Disproportion between Milton's Imagination, and the Lord Clarendon's; I will not say Finite and Infinite might express it; Bounds and Boundless are more agreeable to Human Nature: Yet Milton, in what he has written of the English History, has been so careful of Redundancy, that he has not allow'd Words enough for his Matter, which was capable of more, as we see by Tyrrel on the

the same Subject; and this shews us at least, that he did not think Words to be the Excellence of an Historian. Daniel was a Poet, and his Fancy as fine and fruitful as any of his Time, yet the Extent of his History of England, for almost Four Hundred Years, would not take up above Four Years of the Earl of Clarendon's.

I know very well, Milton is an Epitome, and Daniel the same, though of a larger Size; but those Historians were so well apprized of the Perfection of the Historical Style, that though they were Poets, they spar'd no more Words than were absolutely necessary for Narration, which Manner has been practised by all Judicious and Sincere Writers of History.

Does
Old man
mean the
P. Last?

'Tis true, the Lord Verulam, in his Henry VII. set an Example to his Successor, the Lord Clarendon; but that Learned and Noble Historian's Design was to give a Varnish to the Reign of that

*Justifies
Lord Clarendon
but Condemns
Cl*
that King, which, in Truth, was too much disfigured with Spots and Blemishes. The Earl of Clarendon's Design was to do the same to the Reign of King Charles I. and the very Essence of Eulogy consists in the Beauty of Thought and Language, without a slavish Attachment to Truth.

Does any one think, that Pliny had the true History of his Master Trajan in his Head, when he wrote his Panegyrick, or that he studied any Thing more than Fineness of Sentiment and Expression? However, he had a fruitful Subject; a Prince endowed with all imperial Virtues, and yet he has vary'd the Likeness by Adulation and Exaggeration.

How far then must they wander from the Truth, who have all those Royal Virtues to invent, which Pliny had in Sight to save his Invention, and assist his Genius?

The

The most Melancholly Part of it is, That Christians, in such Panegyricks, sacrifice their Conscience, and their Religion to Flattery; whereas the Adoration of the Emperor was a Part of the Religion and Conscience of the Romans; but 'tis to be feared, this is not the only Thing in which some Bigots, under the Name of Christians, fall very short of the Honesty and Humanity of the Heathen.

Mr. Echard is pleas'd to allow Whitlock to be a Fair Writer, so I shall say little more of him here, having also said so much in the Introduction to the Second Volume of the Critical History. As he is allowed by all Parties, to be a Man of Sincerity, the Reader will, with the greater Attention, observe wherein he differs from the Lord Clarendon, and put his own Weight into that Scale, which he thinks most deserves it.

[b]

If

If I have, in Two or Three Places, made Use of Coke, it was rather out of Laziness than Choice, and never but when I knew that what he tells us had been told by Others, though I had not then the Books at Hand : He is as Partial a Writer, as he is a Poor One.

Ludlow also, I have cautiously made Use of ; For one may see that he wrote in Banishment, and too often mixes Gall with his Ink.

Rushworth is without Exception ; but if I should have compar'd him with the Earl of Clarendon, in all Passages where they differ, I must have swell'd this Treatise to double the Bulk.

It may be ask'd, Why I deferr'd this Undertaking so long ? and, if I knew there was so much Mischief in the History

story, Why I did not fence against it sooner ?

The Answer is easy ; The Prepossession, in Favour of his Lordship's Book, was so strong, for several Years, that no Body would have given a Hearing to any one, who should have said a Word against it ; but when I found that those Passages which Mr. Echard had copyed, were not so well received from him, but, on the contrary, had been often and severely animadverted upon ; I believed the World was enough prepared to look on an Examen of the Whole, which deserves Animadversion as much as what Echard has taken out of it.

It is easier always to pull down than to build up, in every Thing but History, wherein it may be easier to build up than to pull down, after the Weakness of other Foundations is repair'd ; and it being as necessary for our Posterity, as it was for Us, to know on what Bottom our Constitution stands, and there being no Bot-

What
was
Echard's
Tale in
this?
What's
happening
here?

PREFACE.

Old man
against
Echard as
well

tom to be found in the Earl of Clarendon's, or Mr. Echard's Histories, where all our Rights and Privileges are swallowed up in the Gulph of Tyranny, Ecclesiastical and Civil; it spirited me to throw my Mite into the Treasury; and, the Rubbish of former Histories being removed, to erect a new Fabrick, whose Foundation shall be more solid, tho' the Building be not burthened with so much Magnificence and Ornament;

Which being the whole Secret of Writing the Critical History, and this Treatise, I hope the World will receive them, and that History, when it is published, with the same Candour with which they have been, and will be given.



INTRO.

(xxi)



INTRODUCTION:

CONTAINING

Remarks on the TITLE, PREFACE, and DEDICATIONS to the HISTORY of the REBELLION.



It is worth Inquiry, how it came to pass, that so florid a History, as that of the Rebellion, should so long lie perdue, and be at last publish'd. If it was begun in King Charles I's Time, as we are told in the Preface, it was finish'd after the Restoration, and not long after. Those who had written the Histories of that King had err'd so scandalously against the Truth, that 'twas proper to have an History which should allow a few Faults, in order to conceal the rest, and gain the Character of Impartiality. The Earl of Clarendon has done this; but almost every where explain'd away the Miscarriages, by Softenings and Glossings. However, in the Reigns of King Charles II. and King James II. when the Administration was as wild and arbitrary as that of King Charles I. there being a

[b 3]

Day

Day set apart, every Year, to preach up the Piety and Martyrdom of that Prince, not one Fault would have been allow'd in all his Conduct: And as his Death was often compar'd, in Sermons, to that of our Saviour; so his Life and Actions were represented to be equally without Spot or Blemish; and the little of that kind which is in his Lordship's History, would not have been borne with. Besides, there were many Thousands, then living, who could have disprov'd the Facts and Characters in that History, by their own Knowledge; and it could not gain Credit any surer way, than by appearing when those Characters and Facts were forgotten.

Oldmixon's
Treason for
Cl. not
Publishing
his work in his
life time

I know not who the Prefacer is, nor whether one Person or more; but by the Bitterness of Thought and Expression, I believe it was written in a College, and not by the Pen of a *Layman*; for, he begins his Performance with putting the *Church* before the *Crown*, which no good *Englishman*, and good Protestant, was ever yet guilty of. The University of *Oxford*, by chusing the Historian their Chancellor, shew'd their Adhering to their *Old Principles*, in Support of the *Church of England*, and the *antient Monarchical Government*: Which is thus explain'd, in a late Writer, with Acrimony enough; *Thus Oxford was always remarkable for its Loyalty, that is, it always espous'd one Side or other, was always warm and active, and meddling in the Interest of some Favourite Prince, or Tyrant, or Usurper, or Rebel, or Murderer, in Defiance, many times, of Oaths, Abjurations, and Decrees to the contrary. To talk of Oxford Loyalty in any other Sense, is Grimace and Banter; the English History is full of black Instances of its Perverseness and Disobedience to good Princes, and of its Flattery and Adulation to bad ones. Tho' I cannot join with that Writer in every thing, yet I own there is too much Truth in what he says here; and the Preface and Dedications we are looking over, are some of its Instances. The Prefacer confesses, There are several Accounts in the History, which do not agree with other Relations; and those Accounts are in almost every Page of it, as we are about to prove. He will be found, thro' the whole Progress of his History, to have given no Occasion of suspecting his Writings guilty of partial Favour, or unjust Enmity;*

Vol. I.
Page 2.

as will appear in a very great Degree, when we come to speak of the Murder of *Mr. Ascham*, whom the Parliament appointed to be their Minister in *Spain*, when *Sir Edward Hyde* was Lord Ambassador there for the King. The Prefacer again, He has represented the *Truth* Page 3.
*without any Mixture of private Passion or Animosity; and the Reason of publishing this Book at last, was, because so many Memoirs, Narratives, and Pieces of History came out, as it were on Purpose, to justify the taking up Arms against that King. The Prefacer or Prefacers were so intirely ignorant of the Matter, that they did not know what had been done; That the most Loyal Parliament, who restor'd the Crown and Church, had declar'd that taking up Arms, to be in Defence of their just Liberties, and to bring Delinquents to Punishment, of whom the Earl himself was one; he being excepted, by Name, out of the Parliament's Act of Indemnity. The Ingenious Monsieur des Mazeaux, in Chillingworth's Life, charges the Archdeacon of Stow with Disingenuity in this Article, p. 306. He would make us believe, that the Commons proceeded with all Tenderness and Caution, with respect to the late Civil War; and therefore were unwilling totally to condemn the Parliament's Part in it. But this is a gross Misrepresentation of the Proceeding; for they did not proceed with Tenderness and Caution in that respect, but express'd their Sense of it with great Warmth and Freedom; and so far from being only unwilling totally to condemn the Civil War, that they fully justified it. This Civil War is what the Earl calls the Grand Rebellion, contrary to the avow'd Sense of the Parliament of England, the very Parliament to whom he himself said, All succeeding Parliaments Esh. 733.
*would pay to them their Thanks for what they had done. That Parliament whom King Charles stil'd the BLESSED PARLIAMENT; that very Parliament, I say, fully justified the Resistance which the Earl of Clarendon, in the Title to his Book, calls the Rebellion; and if that is a Proof of his Candour and Impartiality, I shall have done it much Wrong. The Prefacer, in the Abundance of his Knowledge, proceeds, Some Men make it a Mystery to judge on whose Side was the Right: The Blessed Parliament made no Mystery of it; they declar'd, they had Right to draw their Swords to vindicate their just Li- Ech. 7
erties, and bring Delinquents to Punishment.**

[b 4]

I abhor

I abhor entering into the Particulars of Mens Characters let their Condition be ever so ordinary; but in advanced Stations, 'tis much more to be avoided: But I am provok'd to observe somewhat on what the Prefacer writes of the Historian, *His Integrity none of his Enemies ever denied him in any Time*; for, if that were true, I should be without Excuse, in charging his History with the Want of it. Did not the Earl of Bristol charge him, in the House of Lords, with granting Articles in the King's Marriage Contract, *which were scandalous and dangerous to the Protestant Religion*; with selling Dunkirk; and taking a Bribe for a low Farm of the Customs, &c? Echo 809. Did not Sir Robert Howard charge him, in the House of Commons, with designing a standing Army; Sir Edward Seymour, with receiving Money for Patents, and granting Illegal Injunctions; Sir Richard Temple, with Imprisoning Men against Law, and taking a Bribe of 90000 l. Sir Thomas Osburn, afterwards Duke of Leeds, with under-letting the Customs to the Old Farmers for Money; Sir Robert Carr, with receiving a Bribe of the Vintners; Sir Thomas Littleton, with his getting exorbitant Grants; Sir Charles Wheeler, with his frustrating Proposals for Preserving the Leeward Islands; the Lord Chief Justice Vaughan, with giving Traiterous Advice; Mr. Thomas, with determining Cases of Law at the Council Board; the Lord Vaughan, with betraying the Nation in Foreign Treaties? And, to close these Charges, A. Wood, the Oxonian, affirms the Loyal David Jenkins was not made a Judge, because he would not bribe the Chancellor Hyde, of whom the Prefacer says, *For Justice and Integrity he had a Praise which none of his Enemies ever deny'd him*. He hopes the Earl's History will awaken Men to that Honesty, Justice, Loyalty, and Piety which formerly Englishmen had been valuable for. Which is either Nonsense or Treason; for they wanted not to be awaken'd to Honesty and Justice in the Courts of Westminster-Hall; nor to Loyalty to King William, Queen Mary, and Queen Anne; nor to Piety in the Profession of the Protestant Religion. The Honesty and Justice here meant, are the giving every one his own, in a Jacobite Sense; the Loyalty they are to be awaken'd to, is Rebellion in Favour of the Pretender; and the Piety is Persecution. This was the true

true Reason of Publishing the History at that Time, when Queen Anne was about to employ those that zealously own'd her Parliamentary Right, that had heartily abjur'd the Pretender, and advis'd her Majesty to declare, that the Toleration Act should never be violated; which made it high Time to awaken Men to that Spirit, and those Practices, which brought on the Civil War, the Subject of his Lordship's History; and the Queen having taken into her Service the Chief Men of Revolution Principles, on which her Title to the Crown was founded, the Prefacer does not spare King Charles I. to awaken her Majesty too by this Reflection, *When any King, by ill Judgment, or ill Fortune of his own, or those entrusted by him in the chief Administration of his Government, happens to fall into an Interest contrary to that of his People, and will pursue that Mistake, that Prince must have terrible Conflicts in the Course of his Reign*. If the Queen does not employ the Champions of the High Church Memorial, she must expect terrible Conflicts, that is, a Rebellion, such as the Earl writes of, from the Honest, Just and Loyal Party. What follows, is an open Attack of the Revolution, and Queen Anne's Title to the Crown, *Neither would we be thought to give Countenance, by what we write, to the Opinion of those, who would justify the Rising up in Arms of Subjects*; as the late Bishop of London, the late Dukes of Shrewsbury and Leeds, the late Duke of Ormond Chancellor of the University of Oxford, the late Sir Edward Seymour, and, in short, all the Principal Sons of the Church, did rise up in Arms against King James, Son of King Charles I. and without such Rising, we should have had no Church at all by this Time, unless it was such a Church as the Pope would please to bestow on us. All Princes may see and judge, that it can never turn to their Advantage, to be in an Interest contrary to that of their People. The Cause of Liberty is, after this Way of Thinking, contrary to the People's Interest: Nor to give their Subjects unreasonable Provocations; the very Words of the Memorial of the Church of England, which was condemn'd by the Lords and Commons as a scandalous Libel. These Provocations are strong enough to rouse Nature; for whatever Loyalty these Gentlemen pretend to, there are not greater Rebels in the World than they are, when they are provok'd

provok'd by Moderation and Charity. What Relation the late Wars in *Flanders* had to the *Civil Wars* in *England*, and a Strength at Land, or a Strength at Sea, to the Battles of *Marston* and *Naseby*, I cannot imagine; nor what the Prefacer would awaken his Readers to concerning it, by the History of the *Rebellion*; to which it no more relates, than it does to that of the *Triumvirates*. But the Preface was to awaken the Reader to an Hatred of a *War* with *France*, and an equal Government; and the History was to make him out of Love with those Persons and Principles which had preserv'd that Liberty, which the Historian sacrifices to Arbitrary Power.

He had the greatest Share in compassing the Act for Uniformity, which quieted the Minds of the People, by turning 2 or 3000 of their Ministers out of their Pulpits. Mr. Locke, whose immense Learning, and vast Genius; whose solid Judgment, and known Integrity, are above Comparison with any other Name, says of it, It was fatal to our Church and Nation, in the throwing out a very great Number of Worthy, Learned, Pious, and Orthodox Ministers.

M. Des
Maiz. Col.
Page 62.

The World hath lasted long enough since the Misfortunes of this Honourable Person, to be convinc'd that there was nothing in all those Articles exhibited against him in Parliament, that did in the least touch or concern him, as the Earl endeavour'd to shew in his Remonstrance, which the Parliament voted to be a scandalous and malicious Paper, and a Reproach to the Justice of the Nation. Note, That this Parliament was the very same that pass'd the Uniformity Act, and was the Subject of his Lordship's Panegyricks for 6 or 7 Years together. Sir Robert Howard mov'd it should be burnt by the Common Hangman, and Mr. Trevor thought many of the Articles did so touch and concern him, that Banishment was not a sufficient Punishment, his Family being untainted, and his Children enjoying his Estate.

“ He had the Happiness to have had so considerable a Share in the Conduct of the Restoration; for it was by the Author, that the continual Correspondence was kept up with the Loyal Party”; who all put together, had no other Share in it, than *Mr. Mordaunt's* going once

to *Flanders*, and *Sir John Greenville's* bringing over two or three Letters, after *Sir Anthony Ashley Cooper*, *Mr. Annesly*, *Admiral Montague*, *General Monk*, and other *Presbyterians* had done the Business. The Loyal Party had not a Town, a Castle, nor Fort, nor Ship to deliver him, nor Troop of Horse, nor Company of Foot; they durst not shew their Heads in the Way of Opposition: And the Earl may take all the Share they could give him in that invaluable Blessing, without Envy.

“ The Duke of *York's* Marriage with his Daughter, “ was intirely without his Knowledge or Privity.” If so, *Sir Robert Howard* was very unjust, to give that as a Reason for a Bill of Attainder, instead of a Bill of Banishment. Though it is not very likely, that such an unequal Alliance should be made, without his Privity and Knowledge, yet, since there proceeded from it Two such Gracious and Glorious Princesses as *Queen Mary*, and *Queen Anne*, it ought not to be spoken of but with Reverence; and since, by means of the Restoration, we have been blest with the Reigns of those Two blessed Queens, of *King William*, and *King George*, and have the Security of the Protestant Succession for our Posterity, that ought also not to be spoken of but with Reverence, notwithstanding the Felicities which accompany'd it, are the Effects of the Earl's fruitful and fine Imagination.

Never were Sentiments and Expressions so exactly the same, as those of the *Memorial* of the *Church of England*, and those of the *Preface and Dedication* to the *History of the Rebellion*. Though they were not coin'd in the same Mint, the Metal and the Stamp are the same; and the very Ingenious and Learned *Mr. Maynwaring*, the best Critick of his Time, having written Remarks on that *Memorial*, in a Treatise, intitled, *The History of the Ten Champions*, I shall apply some of those Remarks to the abovemention'd Preface and Dedication, his Name and Authority, being, at least, equal to any Name or Names suppos'd to have been put to those Pieces. It is not to be Vol. II. doubted, says the Dedicator to her late Majesty *Q. Anne*, Page 1. but the same Truth, Fairness, and Impartiality, will be found throughout the whole Thread of the History. So they are, the whole History is equally Impartial, Fair, and

and True; and will meet with the same Candour from all equal Judges. These equal Judges are the very same who espous'd the Cause of the Church Memorial, which was solemnly condemn'd by the Queen and Parliament. *This History was design'd to remain to Posterity, as a faithful Record of Things and Persons in those Times, and of his own unquestionable Sincerity in the Representation of them.* To say this in a Dedication to one of the Ten Champions, would have been well enough, because the whole Host were ready to swallow any thing that was asserted for the Good of the Cause; but to say it in so awful a Presence as that of her Majesty, argues alike a want of Judgment, Modesty, and Conscience. It will be granted me by all Knowing Men, be their Side what it will, that the Lord Commissioner Whitlock, was what Archdeacon Echard calls him, a fair Writer. The Earl of Anglesea, in the Preface to Whitlock's Memorials, gives a very large and amiable Character of his Integrity and Impartiality; his manner of Writing without Exaggeration or Declamation, without Eulogy or Satire, in a plain narrative Style, shews the History to be fitted to convey Truth to Posterity; it is without Art, and consequently without Suspicion: He was as well, if not better acquainted with Persons and Things in those Times, as Sir Edward Hyde was: He was a Minister of State, and a Chancellor, i. e. first Commissioner in Chancery many Years; in great Esteem for his Learning, Capacity, Honesty, and Publick Spirit: He was of unquestionable Sincerity, and his History disagrees with the Earl of Clarendon's, in almost every Part of it, where the same Facts are related. How then can his Lordship's be unquestionably Sincere? The Proof of the contrary will appear fully, in the Comparison which I here offer to the Publick. The Dedicator again, *Your Majesty may depend upon his Relation to be true in Fact.* This is over-doing it, and the doubling upon us so often with Impartiality and Sincerity, Integrity and Truth, gives too good Reason to suspect, that the Infirmary was not unknown to both Prefacer and Dedicator. If the Facts proved themselves, as Whitlock's do, it would have been not only useless, but impertinent, to cry out in every Paragraph, that they are true. No body ever question'd the Truth of Whitlock's Memorials: They are naked. The History of the Re-

bellion

bellion is clothed with Eloquence and Imagination; the Painting is glaring every where, and attracts one's Eye so much with the Lustre of the Picture, that we are heedless of the Likeness. Yet the Dedicator, as if conscious of the failing in that Part, warns her Majesty of being misled by false Lights. *A great many wrong Notions, under false Colours, may be obtruded upon you, without this faithful Remembrancer.* The Church Memorial shews what the Dedicator meant by false Colours. *The frequent Inculcations of the Necessity of moderate Counsels, and the repeated Exhortations from the Throne to Peace and Union; by which Churchmen do find themselves almost as sensibly reproach'd, as by the Defamatory Libels of the Dissenters.* The next Paragraphs are to insinuate, that the Dissenters are about to blow up that Church, which Oliver blew up in the *Rebellious Times*. Again, *Your Majesty will see how that great King lost his Kingdom, and at last his Life, in the Defence of the Church: You will discern too, that it was by Men who were no better Friends to Monarchy, than to true Religion.* This Paragraph teems with Qualities that are not to be nam'd in the Presence of a Queen. It will be prov'd in the following Treatise, that King Charles the First consented to the Abolishment of the Church, by his Concessions at the *Isle of Wight*: It is known he had done it long before in *Scotland*, and establish'd Presbytery: How then did he lose his Kingdoms and Life for the Church of *England*? If he had come to an Agreement about the *Militia*, and given Delinquents up to Justice, before the Army secluded the best Members of the House of Commons, to prepare for his Tryal and Death; can any one think that the Article of the Church would have hinder'd a Peace? But the Dedicator's Party have always put the Church before them, when they were about to make an Attack upon any Thing; that if Blows came, the Church might bear them, and they, her doughty Champions, be always thrusting her into Danger, purely for the Glory of delivering her out of it. Mr. Maynwaring in one of his Letters to a Friend in North-Britain, upon the Tryal of the incendiary Sacheverel, writes thus, *When one Man who once turn'd Papist, and another who sat in the High Commission Court, not the Dedicator I hope, were not Ministers of State, the Church must needs be in great Peril. One could*

could hardly have thought their displacing would have been used for an Argument to shew the Church's Danger: Yet so it was, and who could help it? It was in vain to say, "That this Church was protected by a Supreme Head, zealous for the Interest, and liberal to the Support of it: That this Church was guarded by the Laws of the Land: That it was defended by many Excellent and Learned Prelates: That it had all the Members of, the Upper House of Parliament, true to its Establishment: That it had so far the greater Number of the House of Commons, as makes it needless to mention the few Dissenters there, except That one who was loud-mouth'd in the Cry about its Danger (*he means Mr. R. Harley*); and that it had all the Officers Civil and Military of its own Communion. What did all this signify, when the *D^s of B—*, and *Earl of R—*, were turned out of the Ministry?

"*The poor Church must certainly be in Danger, when these Champions were not paid or hired to defend it.*" I have heard that one of those noble Persons was the *Dedicator*; but this would reflect so much on the Honourable Peer, to consider his own private Interest, under the Disguise of the Church, that I will not believe it without further Proof. *The Monarchy of England is not now capable of being supported but upon the Principles of the Church of England.* The Monarchy at that very Time, the Monarchy of the Queen, was supported by *Revolution Principles*; and the Prefacer has told us, the Principles of the Church are *Passive Obedience*, and *Non-Resistance*, *Hereditary Right*, and every Principle which would have kept a Popish King in the Throne, and a Protestant Prince out of it. *Mr. Maynwaring* in the beforementioned Letter, explains what the *Dedicator* means by *Church of England Principles*: "What should our *British* Champions do to accomplish their Designs? To declare openly for the *Pretender*, would have been too rash a Step at first, and would have brought their able Heads into worse Perils than are consistent with their Profession of nothing but Church Chivalry: Nor was it advisable to speak directly against the *Revolution*, and *Protestant Successors*; therefore, they bethought themselves of a safer

"Method

"Method to attack the Two last mentioned, by condemning all *Resistance*, as the Prefacer had done, and crying up *Hereditary Right*; and to carry on the Work of the Pretender, by ordering their Inferior Clergy particularly, to cultivate the Doctrine of *Non-Resistance*, since none, even of their own dull Hearers, could miss finding out the Secret, or want Light to discover, that condemning such *Resistance* as Dethron'd the Father, could have no other meaning, but Restitution to the Son." How happily then was the *Dedicator* complimenting the Queen, by insinuating, that her keeping the Crown from him was a Sin, worse than that of Witchcraft; and the Obedience of her Loyal Subjects, downright Rebellion?

The Ministers employ'd by her Majesty at the Time of the Dedication being faithful to her, by the Principles of the Revolution, the *Dedicator* represents them as *Republicans*, as well as *Presbyterians*, and such as would take away the Crown from Her, as well as the Mitre from the Church; Tho' as there was not one Presbyterian in the Ministry, there was not one Republican, yet that stale Calumny, as groundless and absurd as it was, is laid before her Majesty, *The Industrious Propagation of the Rebellious Principles of the last Age*, renders it necessary that your Majesty should have an Eye towards them. The *Dedicator* means no less than the Principles of Resistance, which he humbly advises her to guard against, that the Principles of *Passive Obedience*, and *Non-Resistance*, might make way for her pretended Brother to her Throne. The Absurdity of this Argument, is as staring as the Confidence of it; and the Reason why he would have her watch the Republicans so narrowly, is, because they were beating the French in a very expensive War; and because Scotland was not united to England, a Union which was accomplished a Year or Two after, notwithstanding the obstinate Opposition of the *Dedicator's* Party. You can never want Undertakers of divers Sorts, who, according to their several Politicks, will warrant you Success if you will trust them. The Undertakers he would have turn'd out, were those that undertook to keep the Crown upon her Head, by keeping out the Pretender;

der; to secure the Protestant Succession; to carry on the War against *France*, till that exorbitant Power was reduc'd; and to procure an Honourable and Lasting Peace. The Undertakers whom the Dedicator would have put in their Rooms, were those that undertook to deliver the Church from the Danger which she was never in, and to put such an End to the War, that *France* might be able to begin it again, whenever it was for the Interest of the Pretender. Mr. *Maynwaring* in his History of the *Ten Champions*, gives us this fair Account of those peaceable Undertakers; "It would be impossible for her Majesty to carry on the Government with their Hands: And we cannot have a better Proof of this, than by looking back on the Account they have given of their own Strength in this Romance, *the Church's Memorial*, where they describe themselves as a poor Handful of Wretches, as the mere Remnant or Shreds of a Faction, with the Lords, and the whole Body of the People against them. And we must do them the Justice to confess, that once in their Lives they spoke Truth; for there is nothing more certain, than that these miserable forlorn Heroes, have no Foundation in *England* to stand upon; their very Bottom is as false as their Legend; and their Strength as imaginary as the Church's Danger. Accordingly, we see most of their Underlings, most of the Squires of these Knights, are forc'd to turn *Low-Churchmen*; when by Places or Pensions they are restrain'd to their Duty: And at all other Times, they are a broken, loose, subdivided Party, made up of the Extremes of all Factions; for as any Man loses his Understanding or Allegiance, he naturally falls in with that Party. And if there be any of our Clergy, who never wrote one Word in Defence of our Faith, or whose Writings are forgotten; who never preach'd but when they were oblig'd to it; nor visited the Sick if they could help it; and whose Lives are not fit to be describ'd: These, you may depend upon it, are *Pillars* of the *High-Church*. On the contrary, if there be any who adorn their Stations with a suitable Conversation; and whose Studies and Labours for the Advancement of our Religion, are famous in the Nation: These you will find are certainly against the *Church*, &c." I could

could add much to this of my own Knowledge, but I had rather have his Authority than any other Evidence: Yet these are the Men the *Dedicator* presents to the Queen, as the only True Churchmen, and the only Subjects worthy her Protection. One would have hop'd, that the vulgar Scandal of the *Calves-Head Club* might have been reserv'd for some Half-penny History; and I was surpriz'd to find it in a Dedication to the Earl of *Clarendon's*: 'Tis a melancholy Instance of the Streights to which the Dedicator's Faction was reduc'd. I never heard of such a Club since the Revolution, except once or twice, among a Parcel of Harebrain'd Enthusiasts; but I have seen a Picture of King *William*, of Glorious Memory, intended to be burnt by *Sacheverel's* Rabble, but seiz'd before they had Time to perpetrate the Villany.

Again, an *Invasion upon the Church ought to be watch'd*, but an Invasion of the Kingdom by *French* and *Spanish* Mercenaries, by *Irish* and *Scots* Papists, is not to be guarded against, as being in Defence of *Hereditary Right*, Spiritual and Temporal Tyranny, and all the Comforts of a *High-Church* Government.

Though the Dedication to the Third Volume seems to be written by a Layman, the Terms *Crown and Church* being so made use of, yet the Sentiments are every whit as Orthodox, and the Politicks as staunch, as in the former Address. *England*, in the Reign of King *Charles I.* was at the highest Pitch of Happiness. Sure these noble Persons never saw any other History but that of the *Rebellion*. They never saw *Rusworth*, *Whitlock*, &c. where they will find how happy the *English* were, in being beggar'd by illegal Taxes, press'd for Soldiers, plunder'd and banish'd for Conscience Sake, scourg'd, mangled, and ruin'd by Star-Chamber, and High-Commission Courts. We had no Credit Abroad, nor Peace at Home. If Trade flourish'd, it must have been a Miracle; when the Merchants Cellars were rifled for Subsidies, without Act of Parliament; and the Manufacturers were driven out of *England*, by Persecuting Bishops and Magistrates: All which, in the Opinion of the Dedicator, were the highest Pitch of Prosperity. And again, when the Glory of the *English* Name was exalted above that of all Nations:

After the King's Death, when Trade flourish'd, and Virtue held the Rein; then was the lowest *Degree of Adversity*, which was never thought of by any Man in his Senses, who had not render'd himself obnoxious to that Government by his Principles and Practices. I do not vindicate the Methods that were taken by the Powers then in Being, to acquire that Power, but I speak of their Methods of managing it; and the Dedicator must either not know what the Times were, or what is meant by *Misery and Adversity*, to speak as he does, or speak against his Knowledge, to the greatest Prince of the Age.

Pag. 11.

The next wonderful Flight is, his calling the Lords and Commons of *England*, a Company of wicked REBELS: And the next, King *Charles* the First, was *higher in Reputation and Honour, than* Edward III. or Henry V. which will pass with most good *Churchmen*, for they know so little of true History, or true Policy, that it is not strange if they should really believe that a King, who was little known Abroad, was in as much Reputation and Honour, as those Kings who had added Kingdoms to their Dominions, and made and unmade Monarchs by their Arms. There was hardly a Nation in *Europe*, that valued the Friendship of *England* in that Reign, which was signaliz'd by nothing but Arbitrary Power and Persecution, Superstition and Oppression; which every one knows, who knows any thing of History, any thing of *Villiers, Laud, and Wentworth's* Ministry, whose very Names will mightily confirm what the Dedicator tells the Queen of King *Charles* the First's Honour and Reputation. *The Peace and Plenty of the Kingdom.* What a blessed Peace it was, when the Spiritual Courts were at War with every Conscientious Man in the Kingdom, for not Prophaning the Sabbath, as was required to be done by the *Book of Sports*? Neither that King, nor his Father, ever *delighted in War*; and the Peace they enjoyed, was happily made use of for the Advancement of Superstition and Priestcraft.

The Dedicator tells her Majesty, that, by God's Providence, King *Charles* II. came in without Treaty. These Gentlemen are afraid of *Liberty*; they thank God there

was

was no *Contract*, but the *Original One*, which they have lately treated as a Dream; though it was asserted in Parliament by that brave Patriot Sir *Robert Philips*, 100 Years ago. But would it have done King *Charles* II. or his Subjects any harm, if he had been bound to have continued the *Triennial Bill*, and to have given *Liberty of Conscience to Protestants*? Might not such a Treaty have been an Addition to the *wonderful Blessings* God Almighty pour'd out with so liberal a Hand, as the turning at once, 2 or 3000 *Learned, Pious, Worthy Ministers*, to use Mr. *Locke's* Phrase, out of their Churches, and putting in their Places, for the most Part, Men of the contrary Character? However, I do agree with the Dedicator, that amidst these *Blessings, so full of Wonder*, it is *but too notorious, that there was great Forgetfulness of God, as well as manifest Mistakes towards the World*; that is, in plain *English*, great Wickedness of Life, and great Folly and Oppression in Government, which ended at last in a *Revolution*, which has, indeed, been crown'd with wonderful Blessings. But the Dedicator insinuates, that it was a Punishment for that disobedient and foolish Generation, *It quickly brought forth Fruits meet for such Undutifulness and ill Conduct.* Again, *such Deliverances, as the Revolution, have their Pangs in their Birth, that much weaken the Constitution, in endeavouring to preserve and amend it.* This Dedicator seems to be a very small Politician; he knows not that such a Deliverance, is, like a broken Bone well set, the stronger for the Fracture: He intimates, that the Constitution of the State was weaken'd by destroying *Absolute Power*; and that of the *Church*, by destroying Persecution: which is what these worthy Gentlemen always mean by Church and State, and nothing else. I do not know whether what follows is Treasonable or Nonsensical: It is the Advice given her Majesty to secure the *Old English* Government; which to me appears as impertinent, as to advise a Man to keep himself dry in fair Weather. The *Old English* Government was as secure as the Foundation of *St. Paul's*, in King, or Queen, Lords and Commons: But by *Old English*, he probably means, the *Hereditary Right*; and then he advises the Queen to secure the Crown for the Pretender, which is High Treason by the Statute. His good Disposition to the Ministers her Majesty was about

[c 2]

to

to employ, in the Room of the Church's *Ten Champions*, celebrated by Mr. *Maynwaring*, may be guess'd by this, *The People of England, now, as after the Restoration, ran chearfully into Obedience; the chiefest Offenders, such as the Lord Somers, the Lord Halifax, the Lord Orford, the Lord Portland, lay quiet under a Sense of their own Crimes, and Apprehension of Reward justly due to them: And all your Subjects went out to meet your Majesty with Duty, and most with Love.* And the first who came forth with Undutifulness and Disaffection, were the *Dedicator's* dearly beloved Friends, in their renown'd *Memorial*; where they say, *The Queen is wean'd from the Church, which does not hold the same Rank in her Esteem; the present Prospect of the Church is very melancholy; and there is a Lukewarmness in Religion, and an Indifference to every Thing that relates to the Service of God.* But one's Blood shudders at that Piece of *French History* about *Henry III. who became very Unhappy and Contemptible*, by such Lukewarmness and Indifference; and here is the Loyalty of these most Loyal Churchmen, addressing to the Queen in their *Memorial*; brought himself at last to an untimely End, by the Hand of an *Assassin*. It was for a great deal less than this, that the Noble *Sidney* was murder'd by Form of Law, among the *wonderful Blessings* of the Restoration, brought about by God *Almighty's* own *unerring Hand*: The Cause of the Cavaliers was God's own *Oppressed Cause*. There are surely such Things as Death and Judgment: There is surely to be an Appearance before that Omniscient Judge, who will not be mock'd: And if every vain Word is to be accounted for, what Account will be given for calling Illegal Prosecutions and Taxes, Banishments and Plunderings, Superstition and Sabbath-breaking, the *Cause of God*?

Her Majesty is recommended to take particular Notice of one Passage in the Earl's History, which is, that King *Charles* would not go to the Reform'd Church at *Charenton* in *France*, dissuaded from it by the Earl of *Clarendon*; which excellent Instance of his Christian Charity, and Zeal for the Protestant Religion, the *Dedicator* insinuates the Queen ought to imitate; and then of Course, the *invulnerable Toleration* is to be immediately violated, as was his Majesty's Royal Promise at *Breda*, not to persecute

secute for Conscience Sake, by Advice of the same Person, a *tried Servant of the Church and Crown*; and a Line or two after, *unmoveable for the Interest of the Church and Nation*. The Articles of High-Treason exhibited against him by the Earl of *Bristol*, and 3 or 4 Years after, the Impeachment in Parliament, which ended in Banishment, was only for his being an *unwearied Assertor of the Church of England*, distinct from the Protestant Religion, which he had so little Concern for, that he would not let his Royal Master go once to the Protestant Church at *Charenton*. None of these Noble Persons will tell us plainly what they mean by a Church. If it was Religion, they might have it at *Charenton*, as well as at *Canterbury*: If it was Virtue they might have it any where, as well as in *England*: If it was true Devotion, they carry it about with them in their Minds: If Piety, it would appear in the Purity of Life: If it is Forms, Ceremonies, Show, Riches, Powers, Dignities, let them say so; and then tell us, that all these Things are the *Cause of God*, having such infallible Tokens with them, *that they are not of this World*.

The Earl gave the King this admirable Counsel to *rely chiefly on the Royal Party for his Restoration*; and if he had so rely'd, he had never been restor'd: For those wise Counsellors who gave the King the contrary Advice, spoke truly enough, when they said, as in the Dedication, They were an *insignificant, despicable, undone Number of Men*. His Lordship also hinder'd the King's *Thoughts of marrying some Roman Catholick Lady*, as particularly the *Infanta of Portugal*, whom he marry'd soon after.

Where the *Dedicator* goes directly contrary to all Mankind, and assures us, it was the Earl of *Clarendon's* constant Advice to the King, to trust only his Father's Friends; the Application to her Majesty, is to employ only Mr. *Maynwaring's* Ten Champions, zealous Assertors of the Church's Cause; who are thus describ'd by that ingenious and polite Gentleman, "These bold Adventurers are to fall out in Defence of the Church, and we should have had some Account of their several and respective Qualifications. They should have shewn, how first it got into the Heads of *J. of B.* and "his

" his Followers, to think of fighting under the Church's Banner, which was never so safe as now, since the Reformation. They should have shewn how this Phrenzy by Degrees increas'd upon them, and how at last they quite lost their Senses, when with 4 or 5 Bishops, that I forbear to name (for to name them would be a Satire) and a few dissolute Members of the Lower Houses of Parliament and Convocation, these Ten Honourable Champions, of whom one is suspected to be the Dedicator himself, in Opposition to all others, gravely agreed together to call themselves the Church." The Calves Head Club was mention'd in the First Dedication; and, as if there had been something in that Non-Entity, it is had over-again in the Second Dedication. That there were Commonwealth's Men in King Charles II. and King James II's. Reigns, I do really believe; and the Mismanagement after the Restoration, made more Republicans, than were in the Days of the Rump: But, that there was a reasonable Creature in England, who prefer'd a Commonwealth to Monarchy, since the Revolution, is such a Whimsy, as can never enter into any but sick Brains. The Republicans had all they desir'd in the Reigns of King William, Queen Mary, Queen Anne, and King George: They had Spiritual and Temporal Liberty; a mild and equal Government, famous Abroad, and flourishing at Home: But in the Reigns of King Charles, and King James, there were doubtless great Numbers who espous'd Republican Principles, to deliver themselves from Persecution and Arbitrary Power, which will eternally create Commonwealth's Men.

Is it not very strange to hear People who establish'd *Prophaneness* by Law, to complain against it in the Reign of Queen Anne; and that a Set of Men, who were wont to stile King Charles II. their most Religious Monarch, should cry out against *Impiety*? The best Thing of these Men is, that, call them what else you will, they can never justly be call'd *Hypocrites*; they have not hid their wicked Lives under a Shew of Purity; they have not pretended to Virtue; their Pretence has always been the Church: And since they have had some Reason to fix *Hypocrisy* upon their Opponents, they might have kept *Irreligion* to themselves. It were to be wish'd, that there was

was not so great Cause of Complaint, as to that Article, against all Sorts of People; but let not the *Fox-Hunters*, and *October-Men*, be the first that complain. Rake together the Irreligion of England, into several Heaps, according to the several Denominations, Churchmen, Dissenters, Papists, and Free-Thinkers; and then let us see on whose Side stands the Mountain, and on whose the Mole-Hill. I never heard but Mr. *Hobbes* was a notable Cavalier; and yet I am apt to think, there is more *Atheism* in his Works, than in all the Writings of the *Roundheads*.

I shall conclude with a few Lines out of Mr. *Maynwaring's* Ten Champions. " Indeed, they seem not only to have quite left the Church, and so have outliv'd all Sense of Allegiance to her Majesty; but to have lost so intirely all Notions of Good and Evil, that they call every Thing and Person by a wrong Name; Obedience they call Faction, and Moderation, Phanaticism; Treason they call Loyalty, and Persecution Primitive Christianity: Those that never attend Divine Service, they call True Churchmen; and those that constantly appear at Church, are Dissenters in their Hearts, &c." And by this *Lexicon*, the Words Church, Phanaticism, Treason, Faction, Loyalty, Primitive Christianity, and the like, in the History of the Rebellion, the Preface, and the Two Dedications are to be interpreted.

I was very often told, that to animadvert on the Earl of *Clarendon's* History, would be a bold Design; but those who said it, were not so well acquainted with the Work as I am, to whom there appear'd but very little Boldness in such an Attempt, tho' their saying so deterr'd me from it several Years.

The Professors of History, can hardly name one good Historical Quality in his Lordship's. The Method, or rather the No-Method, is loose and diversify'd; the Style florid and affected; the Facts curtail'd or exaggerated, as it serv'd the Turn; the Characters good or bad, invented and unnatural. The Language, indeed, is courtly; but a Man may as well make a Great Minister, because he can dance well, as a good Historian, because he speaks finely.



C H A P. I.

*Containing Remarks on the History of
the Rebellion. Vol. I. Part I.*



BEING about to write the *History* of England, during the Reigns of the Royal House of STUART, it behoves me to shew, that such a Work was made necessary by the many Misrepresentations, and Falsifications of Fact, which our most famous Historians have been guilty of, especially the Earl of Clarendon, and Mr. *Echard*.

The Errors of Archdeacon *Echard* are sufficiently detected, in the *Critical History* of England, and it will be seen by the following Remarks, who it was that misled him.

The Earl of *Clarendon*, and all the Writers of that Party, are full of Encomiums on the Wisdom of King *James I.* Panegyrick admits Flattery, but History abhors it; and it is the Duty of an Historian to prove a Prince was wise by his Actions, and not to endeavour to form such a Character by Assertion and Declamation.

If we say King *William III.* was a wise Prince, the Proofs of it are, his excellent Conduct in forming

B

forming

*Clarendon
responsible
for Echard's
History*

forming Confederacies, to put a Stop to the Progress of the *French King's Arms*; his glorious Expedition into *England*; his supporting the first *Grand Alliance* so many Years, against the Power and Successes of *Lewis XIV.* His bringing him to make an honourable Peace, when himself cou'd no longer continue the War; his forming the last *Grand Alliance*, which reduc'd the *French King* to the Necessity of begging Peace; his providing for the Security of our Religion and Liberties, by settling the Succession of the Crown in the Royal House of *Hanover*. These, and a Hundred other illustrious Instances, may be given of King *William's* consummate Policy; but to say King *James I.* was wise, and to let every Action of his Reign prove the contrary, is such an Insult on common Sense, as never before corrupted the Gravity of History. By the same Logick it is, that Archbishop *Bancroft*, whose Morals were the common Subject of Satyr, was a most pious Prelate; and Archbishop *Laud*, when he was upon the bloody Work of Whippings and Manglings for Conscience-fake, was exercising the Spirit of Christianity with exemplary Meekness and Piety. 'Tis hardly credible that Men should give us such Inconsistencies for the Truth of History; and we must, therefore, shew the Proofs of it in their Histories.

VOL. I.
Edit. 8^o.

The Earl of *Clarendon* informs us, pag. 9. That King *James I.* had more Knowledge than any other Prince of that Age. He was more politick than *Philip II.* of *Spain*, or *Henry IV.* of *France*, who said the most contemptible Thing of his Understanding, that was ever spoken of a Monarch; for the President *Jeannin*, King *Henry's* Minister in *Holland*, writing to him, that King *James* was never Sincere with the *Dutch*, &c. his Master reply'd, *I know his Capacity, and the*

Inclina-

Inclinations of his Subjects, &c. There being hardly one Instance of good Policy in all King *James's* Reign, it will be needless to repeat what *Wilson*, *Osborn*, *Vassor*, in short, what every faithful Historian has written. Enough is repeated in the *Critical History*, and till the Writings of those Authors are refuted, that is, till Truth is prov'd to be Falshood, all those Writers who represent King *James I.* as a sagacious politick Prince, have no better Grounds for what they say, than what a little mean Pedantry and technical Divinity supply them with. That King's great Learning, and Zeal for the Church of *England*, will appear in a Speech of his to the *Kirk of Scotland*, which he spoke standing with his Bonnet off, and his Hands lifted up to Heaven, breaking out in an Extasy of Praises and Thanksgivings to God, *That he was born into the World* ^{Calder} *at a Time, when the Light of God's Word shone* ^{wood} *clearly forth, eclipsed neither by the Mists of Ig-* ^{Hist. Ch.} *norance, nor the false Lights of Superstition.* ^{Scotl. P.} *He* ^{256.} *blessed God that had honour'd him to be King over* Such a *KIRK*, the sincerest *KIRK* of the *World*: Repeating it Three Times, and flying out against other Protestants, to strengthen it: *The Church of Geneva, What are they? They keep PASCHE and SALE. What Authority have they in God's Word, and where is their Institution? As for our Neighbour Church in England, their Service is an Evil MASS, said in English; they want nothing of the Mass, but the Lifings. I charge you, my good People, to stand to your Purity, and to exhort my People to do the same. And I, forsooth, so long as Life and Crown be left to me, shall maintain the same against all deadly, &c. Witness the Conference at Hampton-Court, some Years after, where he maintain'd the quite contrary, and spoke, as Archbishop *Whitgift* said, by the Spirit of God.*

B 2

How

REMARKS on the

How likely he was to be inspir'd with that divine Spirit, appears farther from this Passage concerning him, in *Coke's* Account of his Reign. "The Character of *Charles I.* bears no Proportion to the "voluptuous and dissolute Life of King *James*, "accompany'd with his prophane Swearing in "Passion, and even in his usual Conversation, "whereby he became not only contemptible, "but, by his Example, the Generality of the "English Nation became debauch'd in their "Manners and Conversation, to the Scandal and "Contempt of it in other Nations." But further to explain what these Writers mean by Wisdom, and the Holy Spirit, let us have Recourse to *Scots* Authors, who give us the Memorial presented to King *James*, by a Deputation of their *Kirk*; which, it is said, he never forgave them, and one may imagine, that his Resentment against them, enflam'd the divine Spirit, with which he spoke against their Brethren in *England*. "The Assembly directed their Deputies, to go immediately to his Majesty, and admonish him gravely, in the Name of the Eternal God, "to have Respect, in Time, to the Estate of "true Religion, to the many Murthers and Oppressions daily multiplied, thro' Impunity and "lack of Justice, and to discharge the Kingly "Office in both, as he will eschew the fearful "Challenge of God, and avert his Wrath off "himself, and the whole Land, &c." Here's Wisdom and Zeal! to employ the fine Talents of so noble an Historian, as the Lord *Clarendon*. I shall have Occasion to report much of this kind in the History of this Reign, to which I refer, and observe, that, in the first Character we meet with in the History of the Rebellion, we have some Sketches of the Complacency, which all the Ministers of King *James's*, and King *Charles I's* Government,

Mem. of
Church
Scotland.
p. 125.

History of the REBELLION.

vernment, may expect from the Historian *George Villiers*, Duke of *Buckingham*, was the most eminent, and there's hardly a Spot left in his Picture of him. The Mother of Mr. *Villiers*, is, with him, a Lady of the Family of *Beaumont*. Mr. *Coke* says, she was his Father Sir *George Villiers's* first Wife's Woman, and advanc'd from the Kitchen into the Chamber. That Sir *George*, tempting her, in vain, with 20 l. to debauch her, at last marry'd her, after he had settled his Estate on his first Wife's Children: However, the Earl of *Clarendon* assures us, she had a good Jointure, which *Coke* calls 200 l. a Year. And *Wilson*, p. 79. informs us, That out of this good Jointure, she cou'd allow him but 50 l. a Year, even after he came to Court.

I should not have taken Notice of this Trifle, was it not to shew, that some Historians cannot bear the least Blemish in the Beauty of the Persons, with whom they are enamour'd; but raise all that are dear to them, above the Imperfections of Nature or Fortune. The Earl does not let us know, that Archbishop *Abbot* was the chief Cause of *Villiers's* Rise; because the Ingratitude of that Favourite's setting up *Laud* against him, wou'd be a Diminution of the Duke's, and the Bishop's Glory.

The Death of Sir *Thomas Overbury*, by Poison, occasion'd great Murmurings against the Justice of this Reign; *Car*, Earl of *Somerset*, and his Wife, being the main Contrivers of that Murder; for which, says the Earl of *Clarendon*, many Persons of Quality were executed; whereas, there was but one Gentleman, of any Consideration, Sir *Jervis Elways*, executed; the others were Mrs. *Turner*, little better than a Bawd, *Weston*, *Coke*, 37. *Franklin*, and *Mason*, a Servant to Sir *John Munsell*. The many Persons of Quality, are to vindicate King *James*, who, contrary to his Promise

*History of the
Rebellion*

*But does
Clarendon
give a
favorable
account of
Buckingham
as a
young*

6
But Oldmixon seems to clearing entirely on petty details - grossly
in order to disprove Clarendon

REMARKS on the

by Oath, pardon'd *Somerset* and his Countess. The Lord Chief Justice *Coke*, Grandfather to my Author, was the Magistrate, who caus'd *Somerset* to be arrested in the King's Presence. From the same Author I take another Passage, which, at Sight, shews the little Dependence that is to be made on the History of the *Rebellion*, where you read, *The Parliament came to a hasty Resolution, to dissuade the King from entertaining any further Motions towards the Match, and frankly and resolutely to enter into a War with Spain; towards the carrying on of which, they raised great Mountains of Promises: and prevailing in the First, never remember'd to make good the Latter, which too often falls out in such Counsels.* This is what I call Prevarication, and it is so in the highest Degree; for the failing to make good Parliamentary Promises, never happen'd, where the Parliament counsell'd the War, and the Court carry'd it on vigorously; but such Promises have often fail'd, when the Parliament has seen the Money, which has been given for such Uses, squander'd away on Minions and Favourites, as was now done in the most scandalous Manner: But Ministers and Favourites, such as the Noble Historian, do not think that Money squander'd, which is put into their own Pockets; or, the Government in ill Hands, when it is in their own. Mr. *Coke* writes thus of this very Resolution of Parliament.

"The Commons offer the King Three Subsidies, and Three Fifteenths, for carrying on the War, for the Recovery of the *Palatinate*, in case the King will break off the Treaties; which the King accepted, protesting to God, a Penny of this Money should not be bestowed, but upon this Work, and by their own Committees; and the Commons took him at his Word, and appointed Treasurers to receive
"the

History of the REBELLION.

7
"the Money, and a Council of War to disburse the same."

The same Author informs us, how the Moneys, given by Parliament, for the Recovery of the *Palatinate*, were spent: *They were squander'd away in carrying a French Treaty; and, to speak a Word against this odious Misapplication, is, in the Language of the Court Writers, Tumultuary, Faction, Seditious, Distemper'd, &c.* It is the general Cant, and where-ever those Words are us'd, the Reader will never fail of finding Complaints against Grievances.

Wou'd one believe, after his Lordship had said, the Earl of *Middlesex* was condemn'd to a long and strict Confinement, by the Parliament; that such an Imprisonment was but for *Three Days*, after the Parliament was adjourn'd? This is to insinuate, that all Parliamentary Judgments are unjust and severe. What we read in the History of the *Rebellion*, of the Suspicion of Poison, on King *James's* Death, is very extraordinary. Many scandalous and libellous Discourses were rais'd, without the least Colour or Ground, as appear'd upon the strictest and most malicious Examination that could be made, in a Time of License, when no Body was afraid of offending Majesty, and when prosecuting the highest Reproaches and Contumelies against the Royal Family, was held very meritorious. Contrary to this, it will appear, in *Osborn's* and *Coke's* Relations, that there were great Colour and Ground for such Discourses, so far from being Libellous, that a Charge was founded upon the Fact, in the Duke of *Buckingham's* Impeachment, *Rushworth*, p. 353. *Coke* avers the Proof to be next to positive; and *Whitlock* inserts the Article at large, which was spoken to, by Sir *John Elliot*, and Mr. *Wandsford*, Two leading Members of the House of Commons. *The Plai-*

ster and Potions, which the Duke caused to be given King James, in his Sickness, was a transcendent Presumption, of dangerous Consequence; the very Words of the House of Commons, which his Lordship terms scandalous and libellous Discourses; tho' the eminent Sir Dudley Digges had said in Parliament, *I forbear to speak further of the Plaster, in Regard of the King's Honour.*

And Wilson, who was Contemporary with this Incident, a Frequenter of the Court, and a sober Historian, adds, *The Clamour made so deep Impression, that his Innocence cou'd never wear it out. One of BUCKINGHAM's great Provocations was thought to be his Fear that the King, being now weary of his too much Greatness, would set up Bristol, his deadly Enemy, against him. And this Medicine was one of those Thirteen Articles that after were laid to his CHARGE in Parliament, who may be misinformed, but seldom accuse any on false Rumour, or bare Suggestion; and, therefore, it will be a hard Task for any Man to excuse the King, his Successor, for dissolving that Parliament, to preserve One, that was accused by them, for poisoning his Father. Had there been any such History as that of the Rebellion, written before Wilson's Time, he wou'd have seen, that such sort of Excuses wou'd be a very easy Task; for the Historian need only say, there was not the least Colour or Ground for it. Which, after what has been said, is enough to prepare the Reader to form a right Judgment of his Lordship's History in other such Passages, where the Fact is only affirm'd and asserted, and an *Ipse dixit* answers all Objections, either in that or Argument.*

Was it possible for Lord Clarendon not to know, that King James's Learning was Pedantry, his Eloquence Cant, his Politicks shallow, and his Reign inglorious? How comes it that we have
so

so much Eulogy on that King's Learning and Knowledge, from a Man of Knowledge and Learning, but to adorn with it his Majesty's Zeal for the Church, and his Affection to his Ministers? The Learning, which is so highly extoll'd, was, by good Judges, held in very little Esteem; and his Language was so far from being polite, that it smelt of the Chair, much more than the Throne. The Earl of Clarendon has more than once recorded this King's prophane Swearing, and all our Histories complain of the dissolute Manners of his Court, too much encourag'd by his Example: Yet the Appellation of *Most Sacred*, was first given him by his Favourites and Flatterers. I shall conclude what is to be said here on this Article, with the Words of Coke. The Pag. 176.
Clergy seldom spake of him, but as the Solomon of the Age, tho' never were Two Kings more unlike, unless it were in their Sons, Charles and Rehoboam; for Solomon died the Richest of all the Kings of the World, King James the Poorest; Solomon was inspir'd above all other Kings with Wisdom; and his Proverbs, divine Sentences: Whereas this King's Learning, whercin He, and his Flatterers, so much boasted, was a Scandal to his Crown; for, all his Writings, against Bellarmine and Peron, of the Papal Power, of King-killing, and King-deposing, were only Brawls and Contentions, and no Learning on one Side or the other.

The Earl of Clarendon opens this Reign with K. Cha. I. Reflections on the Counsels of Parliaments, as fluctuary and unsteady, and the Proof of it is, their changing Sentiments, with respect to the Duke of Bucks, whom the last Parliament of King James had highly applauded, for his Conduct in Spain, and bringing the Prince back; but the first Parliament of King Charles, call'd a Betrayer of the People's Liberties, and a Corrupter of the
the

the King. And this, *They did*, says his Lordship, Pag. 26. *without imputing the least Crime to him, to have been committed since.* Here the Prevarication is, that several Crimes had since come to their Knowledge, which were not known, when the Duke was in Favour with the preceding Parliament, and a very great Crime, committed since, was imputed to him, as the only Lord of the Privy-Council, who was acquainted with the King's Order to Admiral *Pennington*, to deliver Eight large Ships, to serve against the Protestants of *Rockell*; which, says *Whitlock*, exasperated the House against the Duke. But the Earl of *Clarendon* assures us, They had no Crime to impute to him.

Wilson mentions this very Alteration of the Parliament's Inclination towards the Duke, and the Turn he gives it, is equally judicious and sincere, tho' the Reverse of the Earl of *Clarendon's*. Pag. 267. "The Parliament were but Men, and could, at present, see no more than the Duke was pleas'd to shew them, thro' the flattering Glafs of his Relation; but when *Bristol* came over, and as afterwards he did discover that the Duke carried the Prince purposely into *Spain*, to be better instructed in *Popery*, &c. none can blame the People for mutable Affections; for when *Falshood* is so impudent as to hoodwink such an Assembly, with a Veil, that *Truth* herself is wont to put on, who can, at the Instant, discover it?" Instead of this fair Thinking, his Lordship treats that Parliament as so many Weather-Cocks, to be blown about by every Breath of Faction; and this Manner of Writing goes thro' the whole History.

The Earl farther assures us, That the Hope of obtaining Money from the House of Commons, was even desperate. *Whitlock* informs us, they gave Two Subsidies, for which the King thank'd them.

Coke

Coke goes farther, *This Parliament voted Two* Pag. 197. *entire Subsidies; and the last Parliament, but the Summer before, gave Three Subsidies, and Three Fifteenths, which were more than ever any Parliament granted the King, in Threesfold the Time before.*

What Pains have the Earl of *Clarendon*, and other Historians taken, to clear King *Charles* and his Ministers of the Guilt of the *Civil War*, and to lay it at the Door of those that defended the Liberties of the People in Parliament, and out of it? What Cause those brave Patriots had to complain, will be seen by the following Extract, out of the *History of the Rebellion*; and those that prevented the redressing of the Grievances complain'd of, are alone guilty of the Blood which was spilt in that War. "The Duke caus'd this, Hist. Re-
"and the next Parliament, to be quickly dis- bel. 26.
"solv'd, as soon as they seem'd to entertain
"Counsels not grateful to him; and upon every
"Dissolution, such as had given any Offence,
"were imprison'd or disgrac'd. New Projects
"were every Day set on Foot for Money, which
"serv'd only to offend and incense the People,
"and rais'd a great Stock for Expostulation,
"Murmur and Complaint. Many Persons of
"the best Quality and Condition under the
"Peerage, were committed to several Prisons,
"with Circumstances unusual and unheard of,
"for refusing to pay Money required by those ex-
"travagant Ways, &c." I need not add to this, the tyrannical Proceedings of the High Commission and Star Chamber Courts: The driving many Hundred Families into the Wildernesses of *America*, for refusing to profane the Sabbath, and to imitate *Laud's* Bigotry and Superstition; the Pressing of Gentlemen and Citizens for Soldiers; the Imprisoning of Merchants for refusing to pay illegal Sub-

Subsidies; the barbarous and bloody Scourgings and Mutilatings of Ministers, Lawyers, Physicians, &c. at the Instigation of Archbishop Laud. What his Lordship says, is sufficient to warrant the Murmurs of the oppressed People; but when a Word is said in Parliament, where that Oppression might be relieved, the noble Historian represents the Members as out of their Wits, and their Speeches to be the Effect of distemper'd Brains; distemper'd Speeches not fit for the Dignity of the House. The only sound Minds, were those whom the Parliament complained of as Corrupters of the King, and the only clear Heads those that could reconcile arbitrary Power and Liberty, Persecution of the Protestant Religion, and represent a Time of extream Terror and Distraction, as in the midst of Tranquillity and Joy. We remember what his Lordship said just before, and what comes next, agrees with it, as well as Two Contraries can agree. "The Nation enjoy'd a greater Measure of Felicity, than any Nation was ever possess'd of." Again, *The Kingdom prosper'd exceedingly, and enjoy'd a longer Peace, a greater Plenty, and, in fuller Security, than had been in any former Age. Again, During the whole Time that these Pressures were exercis'd, the Nation enjoy'd the greatest Calm, and the fullest Measure of Felicity, that any People in any Age have been bless'd with, to the Wonder and Envy of all Christendom.*

Elsewhere this Measure of Felicity is otherwise explain'd by his Lordship: "Supplemental Acts of State were made to supply Defects of Law, and so Tonnage and Poundage, and other Duties upon Merchandizes, were collected by Order of the Board, which had been positively refus'd to be settled by Act of Parliament, and new and greater Impositions laid upon Trade.

Obso-

"Obsolete Laws were reviv'd, and rigorously executed." In another Place the Earl is pleas'd to acknowledge, *The Counties, throughout the Kingdom were incens'd; the Endeavour to raise Men by Pressing, found Opposition, and the Authority was not submitted to, as being counted illegal; many were executed by Martial Law, which rais'd an Asperity in the Minds of more than of the common People: And this DISTEMPER was so universal, that all wise Men look'd upon it, as the Prediction of the Destruction that would follow; nor was there a Serenity in the Countenance of any Man; in such felicitous Times, as made all Europe look upon the English with Wonder and Envy: It could not be otherwise. To paint Things and Men in the Manner his Lordship has done, could not but be attended with that Unlikeness and Disproportion, which we see in all Paintings, where Nature is left, and a wandering, though fair Imagination supplies its Place. From hence arises Inconsistency, if not Contradiction; and so it will always be, where the Historian measures not his Work by the strict Line of Truth. The Aim of such Historians is to explain away every thing that was amiss in the Administration, by imputing the Opposition it met with to the factious Spirits in the House of Commons; the Cabals and Artifices of the Leaders within Doors, and the Fears and Follies of the Multitude without. When the People are appriz'd of the Mischiefs which arise from the Power of Favourites, and the Pride of Churchmen, then they are poison'd; Venom is got among them: To speak, is Licence; to suffer, is Peace; to murmur, is Sedition; to petition, Rebellion: And it wou'd not have been possible for any one of these Historians to have written a History, if these Words had been struck out of his Lexicon,*

Tumult,

Tumult, Sedition, Rebellion, Faction, Treason, Schism, Fanatick, Licence, &c. with their Adjectives and Opposites. They are very significant Words, when intended to express known Facts; but as we find them in our most famous modern History Books, *Thunder, Lightning, and Tempest, Plague, Pestilence, and Famine*, will do every whit as well, and give one as faithful an Idea of the Things they represent to us.

The Story of Sir George Villiers's Ghost, and the Wardrobe-Keeper of *Windsor*, does Honour to all the Tales of Apparitions and Spirits which do so much Mischief among the Children of the Nation. The Dæmon of *Tedworth* has as good Authority for it, as the Ghost at *Windsor*; but its Authority could not preserve it from being the Subject of a Farce, which the most ingenious Mr. Addison had a Hand in. If I believ'd a Word of this Apparition, I would dwell longer upon it; but as I do not believe it, I refer the Reader to Edit. 8vo. the Original. *Hist. Reb. p. 42, 43, 44.*

If we should judge of the Earl of *Clarendon's* Characters, by what he says of the Lord Keeper *Williams*, they must be all read backwards: *He was generally thought so very unequal to the Place; that his Remove was the only Recompence and Satisfaction that could be made for his Promotion.* Here again is Assertion without the least Colour of Proof; for the Lord Keeper *Williams* was generally thought the most equal to the Place, of any Keeper that had held it for many Years before; and the Proofs are many, as we read in *Coke, p. 212.* "He was a Man of excellent, not pedantick Learning, both in Divinity, History, the Civil and Canon Law, in which he excell'd all others, and was not a Stranger to the Laws of *England*. These were adorn'd with a lively Elocution, and with a wonderful Promptness

ness and Presence of Mind, in giving Judgment in the most nice and subtle dark Points of State, accompany'd with an indefatigable Industry in Prosecution of them." Thus far his Inequality to his Post is prov'd, as he was a Statesman: Now as he was Lord Keeper; "In *Chancery* he mitigated the Fees, and all Petitions from poor Men were granted gratis; and was so far from prolonging Suits, that in the first Year he ended more, than in seven Years before: Yet notwithstanding this Celerity in Dispatch, in all the five Years of his being Lord Keeper, not one of his Orders, neither by Parliament, nor by the Court of *Chancery*, were ever revers'd." All this is confirm'd by the Right Reverend Bishop of *Coventry and Litchfield*, who had been his Chaplain, and wrote his Life; yet the Earl of *Clarendon* asserts positively, that almost every body thought he was not fit for the Place. I think this is sufficient to give one a very just Notion of his Lordship's fine Characters, that of Bishop *Williams* being the Reverse to Bishop *Hacket*, and other Accounts of him. To put this Matter out of Doubt, let us produce the Authority of the Lord Chief Justice *Hobart*, who being perswaded by the Duke of *Buckingham* to say what my Lord *Clarendon* says, That the Lord Keeper *Williams* was unequal to his Post, told the Duke plainly, *If I did so, I should do my Lord Keeper great Wrong.* Coke, Pag. 161.

The Depth of these Mens Politicks, is not like that of the Ocean, unfathomable. Bishop *Williams* found himself deceiv'd in Archbishop *Laud*, whom he had been an Instrument of promoting; and, provok'd by that Prelate's Pride and Ingratitude, did express his Disapprobation of his Conduct, and oppose his Innovations; for which all his great Qualities could not atone. *Laud* being canoniz'd

Pag. 213.

canoniz'd in all their Histories, all his Opposers must expect nothing but Anathema's: And it being so very likely that an ungrateful Man should be endow'd with those divine Virtues which the Earl of Clarendon, and others, attribute to Archbishop Laud, let us see what Bishop Hacket and Mr. Coke say of his Behaviour to the Lord Keeper Williams: "It has been said with what Difficulty the Bishop of Lincoln procur'd Laud the Bishoprick of St. David's; and the Bishop staid not there, but retain'd him in his Prebendary at Westminster, and so after gave him a Living in the Diocese of St. David's of 120*l.* per Annum, to help his Revenue. These two last, being Additions to Laud's Preferment, coming from the Bishop of Lincoln voluntarily, and unsought-for by Laud, he, by Mr. Winn, return'd his Thanks to the Bishop with this Expression, *My Life will be too short to requite his Lordship's Goodness.* But these Favours were not eighteen Months planted, when Laud became the Bishop's sharpest Enemy; and his Malice grew so high, that the Countess of Buckingham, the Duke's Mother, took Notice of it." This is the Divine of whom the Earl of Clarendon says, *He was a Man of exemplary Virtue, who believ'd Innocence of Heart, and Integrity of Manners, a Guard strong enough to secure any Man in his Voyage thro' this World.* Ingratitude and Malice are, every one knows, the dear Companions of Integrity of Manners, and Innocence of Heart; with which, his Lordship adds, *Never any Man was better supply'd than Archbishop Laud.* To call him Papist who had encourag'd the Court of Rome to send him a Cap, and who had treated with the Pope's Minister for a Pension to maintain him at Rome, was, says my Lord Clarendon, a senseless Appellation, which determines the Thing,

at once, against all the Evidence of Idolatry and Superstition, which appears in the Archbishop's History. *He was an excellent Preacher, and a Scholar of sublime Parts: His Opinions were nothing ally'd to Popery.* His Altars, his Tapers, his Bowings, &c. are no more ally'd to Popery than to Quakery. How plain these Things are? There is not an Historian of common Sense and Sobriety, except the Earl of Clarendon, who pretends that Laud was not inclin'd to Popery, or, at least, to a Hierarchy as intolerable as the Papal. Good Archbishop Abbot endeavour'd to hinder his Advancement, telling the King, *he was reputed a Wilson, Papist, and of a turbulent Spirit*; yet he was nothing ally'd to Popery, and his Spirit that of Primitive Christianity. His Design was to reform the Church, by turning out the most reform'd of her Ministers, and to purify the Protestant Religion with some of the Desilements of Popery. *His Heart was set upon the Advancement of the Church*; by setting her at the Head of the Treasury and Ministry. *He propos'd no End in all his Actions and Designs, but what was pious and just.* He propos'd no End in procuring his Patron, the Bishop of Lincoln, to be fin'd and imprison'd, but what was just. He got that Bishop's Estate to be sequester'd by an Order of the Star Chamber, where he presided and govern'd, without once reading the Commission by which he acted, himself signing the Warrant to Sir John Banks, the Solicitor-General; in which, however, he propos'd no End but what was just. He order'd the Profanation of the Sabbath by the Book of Sports, and depriv'd the Dutch and Walloon Protestants of their Churches; yet no End was propos'd by him in so doing, but what was pious. I could fill a Volume with such Instances of his Piety and Justice: And I am extremely

tremely puzzled to conceive, what certain Historians understand by Justice and Piety ; for I have found Justice cloath'd by them with Rapine and Blood, and Piety array'd with Oppression and Cruelty. I hardly ever met with it in their Pictures, accompany'd with Meekness and Charity. A Man, after their Way of Thinking, puts on Piety with his Surplice, and Justice with his square Cap. This Air runs thro' all their Writings, and on this Fabrick do they build all their Characters. Again, *He was more engag'd in Civil Business than he desir'd to be.* Witness his assiduous Attendance at the Council Board, and signing all their arbitrary Warrants ; witness his constant presiding in the Court of Star Chamber, and his taking a Place at the Board of Treasury ; witness his and his Patron *Neile's* taking upon them to manage the Excise Duty. Had he not desir'd to be in these Places of Profit, who could have a better Excuse for refusing them, than his prior Call to the Ministry, and his Incapacity to accept of them without Sin ? I wish, with all my Soul, our modern Writers of History, had us'd a little more Conscience in imposing upon us, and not requir'd us to believe it is bright Day at Midnight. *He was passionately concern'd for the Church,*

Pag. 84. as appears by this Article against him in *Whitlock*, *By endeavouring to set up Popery, by erecting Altars in the Places of the Communion Tables ; by causing superstitious Images and Crucifixes to be put up in Churches ; by Consecrations, Tapers, Candlesticks, Forms of Prayer ; by furnishing the King's Chapel so well, that Seminary Priests would come thither for*

Pag. 85. *Devotion and Adoration.* Whitl. *By holding the Pope to be the true Metropolitan Bishop of the World ; yet his Opinions were nothing ally'd to Popery : However, these Altars, Images, Consecrations, Tapers, Bowings, Forms, Miters, Copes, Hoods, Titles,*

Titles, Dignities, Courts, and Revenues, are what is every where understood by Church in the History of the Rebellion, and other late Histories ; and it is hardly ever once meant to be true Piety and Virtue, Devotion and Charity, and the Primitive Christian Life and Worship ; which will not be contested with me, because it is so very easy to be prov'd upon them. In another Place the Earl of *Clarendon* informs us, that few could Vol. II. compare with Archbishop *Laud* for Piety and Vir- P. 574. tue. If Superstition is Piety, and Malice, Virtue ; then was this Archbishop a most virtuous and pious Man ; if not, the Lord *Clarendon's* Character of him vanishes, and in its Place we see a proud, tyrannical Prelate, full of Wrath and Revenge, and those very dreadful Qualities adorn'd with Ingratitude and Obstinacy.

The Earl of *Strafford* is not so much oblig'd to the noble Historian as Archbishop *Laud*. He confesses, that *he indulg'd his own Appetite and Passion in his Government in Ireland ; was of too high and severe a Deportment ;* tho' in his Breast was lodg'd the whitest Soul that ever flew from mortal Bosom to that of *Abraham's*, as we are told by another late Historian. We have already been entertain'd with a Ghost, and pag. 58 his Lordship gives us a Prophecy. The Earl of *Pembroke's* Tutor, *Sandford*, being a great Prognosticator, prognosticated that the Earl should not out-live such a Day ; and accordingly he departed in Time to fulfil the Prognostication. Such Parcels of History are so precious, that they cannot be told too often, and give great Sanction to others, which are not so credible and important.

His Lordship says something in Excuse of the unwarrantable Methods of raising Money in King *Charles* the First's Reign ; that his Majesty had but little of it himself ; of 200,000*l.* extorted from

from the Subject in a Year's Time, the King had scarce 1500*l*. I do not insinuate any thing against the Probability of this, but against the Policy ; to let the Courtiers plunder the People in the King's Name of such a vast Sum, and himself to be so little the better for it : To give just Occasion to cry out against Oppression, and let his Servants put the Money that was got by it into their own Pockets. This mitigates the Matter wonderfully, and indeed it admits of no other Mitigation ; but then it loads those that had the Management of the Treasury, such as Archbishop *Laud* and Bishop *Juxon*, to suffer the King's Servants to cheat him of what his Subjects had been cheated of before.

Among all the Earl's beautiful Pictures, there are some shocking Images, which probably were painted to set off the favourite ones, and have the good Effect of the Contrast, as that of the Parliament in 1640, who were *Schismatics, Rebels, Tyrants, and Fools* ; for what else can his Lordship mean by saying, It was a Time when neither *Religion, Loyalty, Law, nor Wisdom could have provided for any Man's Security*. The Men that were guilty of the Enormities of this Administration, the raising of illegal Taxes, the Beggaring, Jayling, Whipping, Pressing the best Subjects, innovating profane and superstitious Practices in Divine Worship ; these were the Men of Religion, Loyalty, Law, and Wisdom. The Defenders of Liberty, Ecclesiastical and Civil, of Religion and Law, were the Rascals and Idiots : And upon this Foundation it is that the History of the Grand Rebellion is built.

Pag. 74.

The Reign of King *James* the First, says his Lordship, made *happy Times* ; and three or four Lines after, they were indeed *excellent Times* ; without one Instance which proves not the very contrary,

contrary, unless Jealousy and Disquiet at Home, and Shame and Contempt Abroad, make excellent Times. True it is, *Bancroft, Neile*, and other such Prelates, had a full Swinge of Persecution against the poor Puritans : The Spiritual Courts were every where triumphant : The Papists never had such Times from *Henry VIII's* Reign to King *James's* : The Nation lost the Cautionary Towns in *Holland*, and the Money for which the Caution was given ; and the Spice Trade in *India*. Our Counsels were the Subject even of *Dutch Farce* ; yet how happy, how excellent were the Times ! 'Tis needless to observe, that here is nothing but his Lordship's Say-so for it, and that there is nothing but Assertion from one End of the History to the other.

We are told, *p. 76.* the Church flourish'd with learned and extraordinary Men ; and the Protestant Religion was more advanc'd by the Writings of Archbishop *Laud*, than it had been from the Reformation. *Coke* tells us, *Bishop Laud fill'd the Ears of King James with Discontents against the honest Men that took Pains in their Places, and settled the Truth in their Auditors.* And how much the Advancement of the Reform'd Religion was owing to *Laud*, will appear by this Article in his Impeachment, " He hath traiterously and wickedly endeavour'd to reconcile the Church of *England* with the Church of *Rome* ; and for the effecting thereof, hath consorted and confederated with divers Popish Priests and Jesuits, and hath kept secret Intelligence with the Pope of *Rome*, and by himself, his Agents and Instruments, treated with such as have from thence receiv'd Authority and Instruction ; he hath permitted and countenanc'd a Popish Hierarchy, &c.

We will see again how the Protestant Religion was advanc'd in the Reign of King *Charles I.*

Pag. 46. "The Ministers and People, says Dr. Calamy, who were for Looseness, Swearing, Gaming, and Drinking; who were against the strict Observation of the Lord's Day; who plac'd all their Religion in going to Church, and hearing Common Prayer; who were against serious Preaching, and for running down all those that were stricter than themselves; these adher'd all along to the King;" and these are the Men, who, according to the Earl of Clarendon, had all the Religion, Loyalty, Law, and Wisdom on their Side. Dr. Calamy again, "By putting Episcopacy, Liturgy, and Ceremonies into the Subscriptions which they impos'd on all that would be Ministers or Schoolmasters, they kept and cast out many worthy Men; whereas many Bishops preach'd but seldom; and abundance of Places had ignorant Readers, who could not preach, or weak Preachers, whose Performances were very mean; and many of them were also scandalous in their Lives." The Lord Clarendon assures us, the Church flourish'd with learned and extraordinary Men. *There was not one Churchman, in any Degree of Acceptance, of a scandalous Insufficiency in Learning, or of a more scandalous Condition of Life: most of them were Men of eminent Parts in Knowledge, and of virtuous unblemish'd Lives.* Sir Benjamin Rudyard, who will be allow'd to be as competent a Judge of these Things as Sir Edward Hyde, shews us another Picture of these Churchmen, in his Speech about Religion: *We well know what Disturbance hath been brought upon the Church for vain and petty Trifles. How the whole Church, the whole Kingdom, hath been troubled where to place an Altar. We have seen Ministers, their Wives, Children, and Families undone, against Law, against Conscience, against all Bowels of Compassion, about not dancing upon Sundays. What do these Sort of*

Men

Men think will become of themselves, when the Master of the House shall come and find them thus beating their Fellow Servants? These Inventions were but Sieves made on Purpose to winnow the best Men; and that's the Devil's Occupation. Sir Benjamin Rudyard means Archbishop Laud, Bishop Juxon, and other such Bishops, who are the only Men of Piety and Wisdom, Learning and Worth in the History of the Rebellion; but in Sir Benjamin Rudyard's Speech, they are doing the Devil's Business. So very contrary are the two Representations. Mr. Grimston, afterwards Speaker of the House of Commons, said, *The Clergy would have us, at the very first Dash, swear in a damnable Heresy, that Matters necessary to Salvation are contain'd in the Discipline of the Church; and the Lord Clarendon represents those that oppos'd the Clergy in their unlawful Proceedings, as Schismatics, Fanatics, and the like. There was not one Churchman —* says the Earl as above. *Whitlock speaks also of these Things, p. 72. "A Minister was voted out of his Living for praying for the Irish Rebels; another for preaching that the King was above the Law, and all those to be Rebels and Traytors that obey not his verbal Commands in all Things, tho' never so opposite to Law and Justice; and many others, ejusdem farinae, for Scandal in their Lives and Doctrine." Not one scandalous!* What can be fairer? In Scotland we are inform'd, *There was no Form of Religion in Practice; no Liturgy, nor the least Appearance of any Beauty of Holiness.* Here it is out. The Beauty of Holiness with these good Churchmen, is not the Simplicity of Spirit, the Purity of Life, the Fervour of Devotion, and Innocence of Manners; but it is an Altar and Rails, Taper and Candlestick, Surplice and Pulpit Cloth, Thrones and Canopies, Chalices and Robes, Forms and Ceremonies. There were

not the least Appearance of such Things in *Scotland*; but there were Prayers and Preachings, Fastings and Humiliations, which, it seems, are not the Beauty of Holiness, for that consists in the outward Appearance, and not in the inward Sincerity. *The Clergy of Scotland were for the most Part corrupted in their Principles.* The Reformation is Corruption. The Things contended for by *Laud* and his Brethren, were no Parts of the Reformation, but the Relicks of Popery, with which the Church of Christ had been corrupted: But his Lordship intimates, that Protestant Principles, such as the Reform'd in *Scotland*, are Corruption; tho' nothing so like to corrupt Christ's Church as the Poms and Vanities of this wicked World, which is not the Kingdom of Christ.

King Charles, with his Father's other Virtues, inherited his Zeal for Religion; very consistent with common Swearing, Luxury, and Riot: But I believe the Reader wants not now to be told what these Gentlemen mean by Religion and Piety, by Church, Loyalty, and their Contraries, Sedition and Schism. Manywise Men were of Opinion, that IF the King had propos'd the Liturgy of the Church of England, when he went first to *Scotland*, it would have been submitted to. These IF's are generally the Attendants upon the Historians wise Men: But Men every whit as wise, are of Opinion, that if the Liturgy had been impos'd on the Scots when the King was present, it would not have been with so much Safety, as when he was 300 Miles off. Every one knows that *Laud* was the main Instrument of that Imposition in *Scotland*, and of the great Partiality in preferring Ecclesiasticks to Temporal Offices; as *Spotswood*, Archbishop of *St. Andrews*, to be Lord Chancellor, a learned, wise, and pious Man. 'Tis never otherwise. The Proof of his Piety here, is his accepting a Temporal Office, when he had a

Call

Call from the Holy Ghost to a Spiritual one. There were four or five other Bishops of the Privy Council, says the Lord Clarendon; whereas in Truth there were eight other Bishops Privy Counsellors. Archbishop Abbot had sat too many Tears in the See of Canterbury, and had too great a Jurisdiction over the Church, tho' he was without any Credit from the Death of King James, and had not much in many Tears before. He had been Head or Master of one of the poorest Colleges in Oxon; was a Man of very morose Manners, and a very sour Aspect, which, in that Time, was call'd Gravity; and under the Opinion of that Virtue, he was recommended to King James by the Earl of Dumbar, the King's first Scots Favourite: He had the Bishoprick of Coventry and Litchfield given him by that King before he had been Parson, Vicar, or Curate of any Parish Church in England, or Dean or Prebendary of any Cathedral Church: He was, in Truth, totally ignorant of the true Constitution of the Church, &c. This Passage will prove, that the Earl of Clarendon could not misrepresent and prevaricate. How do we know that Archbishop Abbot was not a grave Man, or that his Gravity was only Ill-nature, or that he was totally ignorant of the true Constitution of the Church, unless it be by his Zeal for the Reformation, and against Superstition and Persecution, which then must be the true Constitution of the Church? It is very likely that a Divine whom *A. Wood* owns to be a learned Man, and an able Statesman, should be totally ignorant of the Constitution of the Church he was bred in; which being a Thing impossible, requires no Argument to confute. His Lordship insinuates, that he ow'd his Rise to the Recommendation of a Scots Earl, which is not the Fact; for he was made Dean of *Winchester* by Queen Elizabeth, upon Dr. Martin Heaton's being promoted to the See of *Ely*; tho' the Lord

Page. 33.

Lord Clarendon assures us, he never had been a Dean. His Writings, says *A. Wood*, shew him to be a *Man of Parts, Learning, Vigilancy, and unwearied Study, tho' overwhelm'd with Business.* *Abbot*, continues the Lord Clarendon, consider'd *Christian Religion no otherwise, than as it abhor'd and revil'd Popery.* One may defy all Readers of History to produce such another unfair and groundless Reflection. How came his Lordship so well acquainted with the Sentiments of the Bishop's Soul? Was his *Exposition on the Prophet Jonab*, his *Treatise of the perpetual Nisibility and Succession of the true Church*, his *Quæstiones Rex*, his *Sermons, &c.* only Considerations of the Christian Religion, as it was an Enemy to Popery? After this, 'twill be very hard if one should be desir'd to give Reasons why the Earl's Characteristicks are imaginary and partial. *He made very little Progress in the ancient Study of Divinity, Hist. Reb. His Erudition was all of the old Stamp, A. Wood. He adher'd only to the Doctrine of Calvin, Hist. Reb. He was stiffly principled in the Doctrine of St. Augustine, A. Wood. Many Mischiefs broke in to the Prejudice of Religion by his Remissness, Hist. Reb. A Man of Vigilancy and unwearied Study, A. Wood.*

The Death of *Abbot* introduces *Laud* into the See of *Canterbury*; and the first Account of him is, that the Calvinian Faction at *Oxford* malign'd him, and created him many Troubles and Vexations. The Reverse of it is true, that he created them many Troubles and Vexations. Read *Coke*, p. 143. *His Business at Oxford was to pick Quarrels in the Lectures of publick Readers, and to advertise them to Neile, Bishop of Durham, that he might fill the Ears of King James with Discontents against honest Men.* What follows out of the History of the Rebellion, is another positive Assertion, that has no more Credit than the History can give it:

Most

Most of the popular Preachers, who had not look'd into the ancient Learning, such as Dr. Humpbreds of Oxford, Dr. Fulk of Cambridge; such as Dr. Reynolds, Mr. Cartwright, the very learned Gataker, and Hundreds more whom I could name, took Calvin's Word for it; they never read the Fathers, nor Church History. This is such History as one can never too much value; the Rarity of it rendering it inestimable.

I have more than once observ'd, and shall be oblig'd again to observe more than once, that his Lordship writes as if he expected to be believ'd on his bare Affirmation. *The popular Preachers took Calvin's Word for it.* Who could give him Assurance, that the most learned Divines in the Kingdom had never read the Antiquities of the Church, nor the Fathers? Besides, How would the Cause of *Laud's* and his Lordship's Church be the better supported by reading the Fathers? Does not every Babe in History know that there were no Lord Archbishops, no Lord Bishops, with Peerage and Spiritual Courts? Nothing of what these Gentlemen call the *Beauty of Holiness*? for all the *Primitive* Beauty consisted in Piety and Virtue, and the Form of Godliness was no more valu'd than a Shadow is, in Comparison of the Substance. The Earl of *Clarendon* asserts again, that the turning the Communion Table into an Altar, *was sure very grateful to all Men of Devotion.* And most sure it is, that 'twas most ungrateful to all devout Christians, even of the Establishment. The Archbishop of *York* wrote against it, and the most pious of our Prelates complain'd of this Innovation in our Protestant Church. The Excuse for removing the Communion Table, was to have it rail'd in, and kept from the Approach of Dogs; but the Steps to advance towards it, and the Holy Circle,

Circle, pointed out plainly enough, that it was the Priest's *Sanctum Sanctorum*, to which the profane Flock should come no nearer than his Rails would permit them; and that would add a Sanctity to his Person, which would naturally produce Reverence in an extraordinary Manner, which could not but be attended with very comfortable Effects.

The Earl of Clarendon asserts again, that the Lord Keeper Williams was generally unacceptable while he held that Office. 'Twas no sure Sign of it, that not one of his Decrees was ever revers'd. He had several Faults objected to him. What were they, and by whom? by Villiers and Laud; who both, in a great Measure, ow'd their Advancement to him; tho' his Lordship is pleas'd to say, Bishop Williams constantly oppos'd Bishop Laud's Rising: And Bishop Hacket, in his Life of Bishop Williams, assures us, that the latter was the chief, if not the sole Cause of his Advancement.

All the Favourers of Popery, have fallen in with the Papists, in crying out against the Death of Mary Queen of Scots, who was beheaded for conspiring the Death of Queen Elizabeth, upon the earnest and repeated Petitions of the Parliament of England. This the Earl of Clarendon calls an unparallel'd Act of Blood, upon the Life of a crown'd Neighbour and Ally. Her plotting the Death of a Sovereign Queen, under whose Government she liv'd, was an unparallel'd Act of Treason. She was so far from being a crown'd Head, that her Son had been many Years in Possession of her Crown, and held the Kingdom of Scotland by Hereditary Right, during his Mother's Life-time, as himself and his Flatterers argu'd. A Scots Man, who does not at all flatter the English in his Memoirs, writes thus, For carrying on innumerable Plots and Contrivances against the

the Queen, and her Subjects, she was brought to the Block. Whether it was just or not, I do not pretend, but that Justice pursu'd her, for an unparallel'd Act of Blood, the Murder of her Husband. How comes it that this Princess, stain'd thus with Parricide, if not Adultery, is so highly extoll'd for her Piety? Why, she was a mortal Enemy to the Presbyterians, and that Enmity has turn'd the Justice of the Queen of England, and her Parliament, into an Act of Blood, as the Earl of Clarendon determines it. All agree, says my Scots Author, that it was contrived between the Queen and Bothwel to murder her Husband, that she might take Bothwel to her Bed. Spotswood, Lib. 4. fol. 200. owns, That Bothwel strangled the King as he lay asleep. Her abominable Marriage made the Matter so black, that nothing could be worse, next to owning the Fact. Mem. Ch. Scot. p. 63. Yet notwithstanding all this, and much more to the same Purpose, our most famous Writers of History, have lately chim'd in with Priests and Jesuits, to load the Reformation with an unparallel'd Act of Blood, the Execution of Mary Queen of Scots.

Scotland, as his Lordship writes, was in a full, entire, undisturb'd Peace, which they had never seen. In the Memoirs we read, p. 172. Nothing but a dark Prospect of Persecution, and a Cloud, threatening to the Church, now appeared; the Prisons were fill'd with depriv'd Ministers, and the remote Parts with the banish'd; and the King's Letters came every Post, pressing to more and more Severities. What was it then, that made the peaceful Times in Scotland? 'Twas the same in England, Times of Peace and Felicity! Laud was at the Head of the State, Bishop Fuxon at the Head of the Treasury, Bishop Spotswood was

was Lord Chancellor of Scotland, Eight other Bishops Privy-Counsellors. And both Kingdoms must needs flourish, to the Wonder and Envy of Christendom.

The Inconsistency we meet with in some late Writers, would be ridiculous, as well as absurd, was not the Matter so serious. Thus it is said in the *History of the Rebellion*, *Wise Men thought it a Time, wherein those Two Adjuncts, which NERVA was desir'd for, uniting Imperium & Libertas, were as well reconcil'd as is possible. Wise Men again! Where did those Gentlemen pick up so many wise Ones to do their Business? One would think they all, like the Magi, came out of the East; but the Mischief of it is, those wise Heads were the very Men who were the Occasion of all the Grievances, which the Fools and Block-heads complain'd of. Lord Clarendon says, Five Subsidies were exacted throughout the Kingdom, with the same Rigour, as if an Act had pass'd to that Purpose; divers Gentlemen of prime Quality, in several Counties of England, were, for refusing to pay the same, committed to Prison; yet all these Provocations, and many other, of almost as large an Extent, made wise Men think it a Time, when Empire and Liberty were as well reconcil'd as possible. These Gentlemen use no Ceremony with our Understandings, and expect us to swallow Contradictions as glibly, as Truth and Argument: But we must say for them, they deal plainly with us; they do not disguise their Inconsistency; they tell it us with an over-bearing Air, and when they are found out, they tell it us again with the same Confidence. Though there were other Books written with good Learning, and which sufficiently answer'd the Bishop's Book, and, to Men of equal and dispassionate Inclinations,*

Pag. 76.

Pag. 5.

fully

fully vindicated the Proceedings, which had been, and were still, very fervently carried on. We do assert all and every of these Matters, to be Fact and History: For my Part, I wonder his Lordship had not made use of the authoritative Stile of a Statute, or an Edict. The Bishop of Lincoln's Book, was against setting up Altars, in Protestant Churches. The Truth is, the Bishop's Book was never sufficiently answer'd; Peter Heylin came out immediately with an Answer, which he call'd, *A Coal from the Altar*. To which the Bishop reply'd, in a Treatise, entitled, *The Holy Table*, &c. Which Heylin answer'd in another, call'd, *Antidotum Lincolnienſe*. Heylin was answer'd by one Richard Day, in his *Two Looks over Lincoln*; which I take to be what the Noble Historian means by sufficiently answer'd: For that Treatise animadverts also on the Bishop's Book, as one sees by the fine Title, tho' the Author could not bear Heylin's Panegyrick on Superstition. His Lordship explains what he means by Men of equal and dispassionate Inclinations, very pleasantly, three Lines lower: *Men of great Insolence and Asperity, Names not much reverenc'd, who undertook the Defence of all Things, which the People generally were displeas'd with*, Hist. Reb. p. 98. *The Archbishop had hitherto avoided concerning himself in Matters of State*. His getting himself a Place at the Council-Board, at King Charles's coming to the Crown, 12 Years before, shews how he had avoided State Matters; as did his supporting Mountague against the House of Commons, who artickled against him, in their Remonstrance, about the same Time, that he avoided Matters of State, by getting himself to be made a Privy-Counsellor.

The

The King's own Chapel at Holy-rood-House, had still been maintain'd with the Comeliness of the Cathedral Service, and the whole Nation seem'd well inclin'd to receive the Liturgy of the Church of England, Hist. Reb. In the Memoirs of the Church of Scotland, it is said, "This Service was first set up in the Chapel Royal at Holy-rood-House, where none being obliged to go, but the King's Servants, it was not so offensive; for tho' the People abhor'd the Thing itself, (*True Comeliness, we know, is apt to strike Horror*) yet, as it was not impos'd upon them, they concern'd themselves the less about it; but this was only to make the Thing a little familiar to the Citizens, who flocked thither to satisfy their Curiosity, upon a wrong Supposition, that, as the Fox, by often seeing the Lyon, was less terrify'd, so the more the People were acquainted with this Innovation, the more they would like it; whereas, on the contrary, the more People saw this Service, the more hateful and abominable it appear'd." But his Lordship alledges, That many *Wise Men* were of *Opinion*, the Liturgy wou'd have been submitted to without Opposition, IF it had been propos'd when Bishop *Laud* was at *Edinburgh*. These *Magi* turn Things up and down, and then take a View of them, which is a sure Way to preserve the Life in the Image. The noble Historian tells us, *Hitherto no Person of Condition at home, appear'd to countenance this seditious Confusion in Scotland. See Mem. Ch. Scotl.* "An infinite Number set their Hands to the Petition against the Liturgy, and among them several Gentlemen of good Rank." However, nothing would serve Bishop *Laud's* Turn, but the forcing the Common Prayer Book by Arms; and so

so the King enter'd upon what was then call'd, *Bellum Episcopale*, the Bishop's War; which is open'd by the Lord *Clarendon*, with some decisive IF's, that are very much to the Advantage of the wise Mens Speculations. IF *All the Scots Nation*, Page. 113. who were united in the Rebellion, some of which staid yet at Court, had march'd in their Army, and publickly own'd the Covenant, which, in their Heart, they ador'd; the Monument of their Presumption and their Shame, wou'd have been rais'd together. If the Scots Army had been stronger than it was, the King's Army wou'd have beaten them; but as it was weaker, they beat the King's. Can one make any Thing else of it? Hist. Reb. IF the War had been more vigorously pursued, it had been as soon ended as begun. If our Men would have fought, they would have beaten the Scots into the Frith. Hist. Reb. IF the King himself had staid at London, or resided at York, and left the Matter of the War to the Army, who had themselves left the War, his Enemies had been speedily subdued. These are the sage Reflections of the wise Men, who come with their IF's after the Work is over; and how well groundred are all these IF's, will appear farther by the History.

"An Army was drawn together of near Hist. Re. 6000 Horse, and about that Number of Foot, bel. all very well disciplin'd."

An English Historian of Note says, in a Manuscript I have seen, they were rais'd by the Clergy, Church Scotland. and imitated their Masters; for as the Clergy, who prompted this War, accompany'd the King to York, but left him when he came into the Field; so the raw and undisciplin'd Army accompany'd him into the Field, but left him when they should have engag'd.

Hist. Re- *The Enemy had not any considerable Forces toge-*
bel. *ther, nearer than Edinburgh.*

Mem. of *“ When the King advanc’d forward to York,*
Church *“ and from thence to the Border, they were*
Scotland. *“ ready in the Field before him. It would*
“ make too much Sport with the English Cou-
“ rage and Bravery, which is so well confirmed
“ in the World, to give an Account how like
“ Scoundrels this Army behav’d.”

Hist. Re- *If the War had been now vigorously pursu’d,*
bel. 115. *it had been as soon ended as begun ; for at this*
Time they had not drawn Three Thousand Men
together.

Mem. of *“ They levied Twelve Regiments of Foot,*
Church *“ and Eight Regiments of Horse, making in*
Scotland. *“ all Eighteen Thousand Men.”*

The Scots, says the Lord Clarendon, kept as many
of their Soldiers, as they thought fit, in Pay. Why
could not the Earl have said, they thought fit
to keep none in Pay ? for they broke their Ar-
my. This is to insinuate, that they made the
first Pacification, with an Intention to break it ;
but my Scots Author informs us, They had cer-
tain Intelligence from England, of a treacherous
Design to destroy them, and so kept their Of-
ficers in Half-pay. He adds, “ It prov’d as
“ they were inform’d ; for the King, fired by
“ the Clergy, sought Occasions of new Quarrels,
“ and declin’d establishing their Civil and Eccle-
“ siastick Liberties ; and then, pretending the
“ Scots had not kept their Articles, denounc’d
“ them Rebels, both in England and Ireland.”
’Tis a common Reflection in his Lordship’s Hi-
story, that every one who left the Royal Party,
or espoused the Opposite, did it out of Disgust
for some particular Offence taken. The Scots
General Lesley, was disoblig’d by being denied
somewhat he had a Mind to : His Lordship does
not

not say what ; but the Parliament’s General,
the Earl of Essex, was disoblig’d by being re-
fus’d the *Command of Needwood Forest*. No Body
serv’d the Covenanters or the Parliament out of
Principle : that cou’d not be ; a Man cou’d have
no Principles, if he did not think as Bishop
Laud and his Brethren did. After Fourteen
Years Male Administration of the Government,
the noble Historian is surpriz’d into a Confession,
That the King had lost Reputation at Home and P. 125.
Abroad : But he is not pleas’d to tell us how
that Reputation was got.

In the Second Scots War, we are assur’d, that
the Lord Conway was sent to the Borders of
Scotland, with a *Strength sufficient to stop the Scots,*
IF they should attempt to pass. This IF was
ventur’d upon after the Fact prov’d the contra-
ry, and is the only IF of so bold a Kind ; for
the Scots did attempt to pass, and the Lord Con-
way, with his sufficient Strength, could not stop
them ; tho’ the Fact is differently reported by
the Earl, and the Scots Historian : *Thro’ those*
Difficulties and Disadvantages, says the Earl, without
giving or taking any Blows (for the Five or Six
of ours, who were kill’d, fell by their Cannon, be- P. 144.
fore the passing of the River) they put our whole
Army to the most shameful and confounding Flight
that was ever heard of. We read in the Mem.
Ch. Scot. “ The Scots beat the English fairly, by P. 191.
“ plain fighting, from their Post, and kill’d 300
“ of their Men.” Without giving or taking a
Blow, according to the Lord Clarendon.

I recommend to the Reader, the following
Character of the Lord Keeper Coventry, it being
another Instance of his Lordship’s directing his
Imagination by the Line of Truth. *He enjoy’d*
his Office with universal Reputation, Pag. 46.
Whitlock, p. 31. He was of no Transcendent
Parts
D 2

Parts or Fame. White and Black again! *Hist. Reb.* He was generally look'd upon with singular Esteem:

Pag. 131. And then we have our IF in the Lord Keeper's Favour, *If he had liv'd to the sitting of the Parliament, he might have preserv'd the Crown.*

Pag. 31. Whitlock, He died in a seasonable Time. He was a very wise and excellent Person, *Hist. Reb. p. 45.* Of great Abilities and singular Reputation, p. 16. A Man of wonderful Wisdom, who understood, not only the whole Science and Mystery of the Law, but had a clear Conception of the whole Policy of the Government, both of Church and State. I am oblig'd to abridge his Lordship's Characters, which do so abound with Words, that unless there had been more of the Life in the Picture, they may be very well spar'd. I am fully satisfy'd, that the Publishers of the Earl's History, did take Redundancy of Expression for the Overflowings of Eloquence; and that it never once enter'd into their Heads, that there's as much Difference between the Declamatory and the Narrative Stile, as there is between Fiction and Truth. I am as well satisfy'd, that all the Admirers of the History of Rebellion, admire it purely for the Declamation, for the Graces and Flourishes which are thrown into it, with incomparable Affectation; and did not once question the Truth of any Thing which was so ornamented. The Lord Commissioner Whitlock is allow'd, by all Parties and Professions, to be a Fair Writer. He was a great Lawyer, a Judge of the High Court of Chancery, endow'd with excellent natural and acquir'd Parts, and a long Experience in the most important Affairs and Counsels, an Ambassador Abroad, and a Minister at Home, of equal Eminence with the Earl of Clarendon; as may be seen by what

what the Earl of Anglesea writes of him, in the Preface to his Memorials; and he says, in another Place, of this Lord Keeper Coventry, *The King, by the Advice of his Attorney Noy, Pag. 22. and of the Lord Keeper Coventry, who, as far as his Learning in those Matters did extend, and that was not far, did approve and assist the Project of Ship-Money.* As I have made myself acquainted with these Characters, I may venture to assure the Reader, that they are almost all of the same Truth with this; the noble Author having so little Regard to the Reader's Judgment, that he has given no Bounds to his Imagination, but, wonderfully delighted with the Variety and Beauty of his own Pictures, seems to consider nothing else in the Painting, except that as they look one Way or another, they are handsome or deform'd.

We have been very much puzzled to know, what the noble Historian meant by *Wise Men*, except that it was Men of his own Party. The Lord Coventry was a very wise Man, and, contrary to this, the Lord Commissioner Whitlock says, *He was a Man of no transcendent Parts, and that his Knowledge went not far.* The Lord Cottington is another of the Earl's very wise Men; and in Whitlock, we have the Proof of it from this Speech of his to the King in Council. *Leagues Abroad there may be made for Defence of the Kingdom; the Lower House Pag. 41. are weary of the King and Church; all Ways shall be just to raise Money.*

The Wisdom of this Counsellor, and the Felicity of this Reign, are of a Piece. Archbishop Laud was so over and above all Wisdom, that our late famous Historians have not Words to form his Panegyrick. What Judge Whitlock said of him, shews wherein he was so

superlatively Wise: *He was too full of Fire, and his Want of Experience in State Matters, and his too much Zeal for the Church, and Heat, if he proceeded in the Way he was then in, would set this Nation on Fire.*

These and many more wise Men are the Ornament of his Lordship's Charactersticks; but as for Selden, Pym, Hampden, Hollis, Rudyard, Grimston, Whitlock, &c. the most illustrious Names in that Age, for Learning, Wisdom, Experience, and Principles; his Lordship cannot spare the Word *Wise* in any one of their Characters: which alone is sufficient to prove, that where we meet with Wisdom on the other Side, it is very much to be suspected.

The last Action in the *History of the Rebellion*, which we had Occasion to speak of, was the *shameful and confounded Rout* of the King's whole Army by the *Scots*. The Earl of *Clarendon* calls it so, and it was so in Fact; but his Lordship soon gives a Check to that Liberty of Speech, and changes his way of thinking and speaking, to bring off that Army with Honour, after so dishonourable a Flight. The *Scots* Memoirs, before cited, represent it thus:

"Here the Royal Army fac'd them, and it was thought impossible the *Scots* should pass the *Tyne*, without fighting; but General *Lesley*, an old Soldier, resolving to put it to the Issue of a Battle, pass'd the River at *Newburn*, in the Face of a strong Body of the *English* Army, beat them fairly, by plain fighting, from their Posts, and kill'd 300 of their Men; which Action so frightened the King, and his whole Army, that they wou'd not strike a Stroke more, but shamefully retreated to *Tork*, leaving *Newcastle* and *Durham* in Possession of the *Scots*."

The

The Earl of *Clarendon* owns the Rout, as is related, but minces the shameful Consequences of it so finely, that one wou'd think the *Scots* were shy of the *English*, for fear they should beat them again.

"Our Foot made no less Haste from *New-Hist. Re-*
castle, than our Horse from *Newburn*. How bel. 145.
 "much more handsome is it to say make Haste,
 "than run away? Both leaving the Honour,
 "and a great deal of the Wealth of the King-
 "dom, to those that had not Confidence
 "enough to take it. *They had been so confi-*
 "dent, as to rout the King's Army most con-
 "foundedly; but such modest Puppies afterwards,
 "they were asham'd to take up the Bone, when
 "it was flung down to them. The Lord Con-
 "way never after turning his Face, though
 "his Troops were quickly brought together,
 "without the Loss of a Dozen Men." It
 "was but Five or Six before; and *Whitlock* tells
 "us, *Three Hundred of them were slain and taken.* Pag. 34.
 "The King's Forces were so asham'd of their
 "Flight, that they were very willing, as well
 "as able, to have taken what Revenge they
 "would of the Enemy." A Misrepresentation
 which is not easily to be match'd. How
 did his Lordship know they were so willing?
 Was it by their running out of *Newcastle* and
Durham? How did he know they were able?
 Was it by their having been just beaten? As
 to their Willingness, *Whitlock* lets us into that
 Secret, the Officers and Soldiers declaring in
 their March, *They wou'd not fight to maintain* Ibid.
the Pride and Power of the Bishops. Again,
The King saw plainly, that both divers Officers
of the Army, and even the private Soldiers ge-
nerally, which was a most remarkable Inclination,
had no Mind to fight against the Scots. The
 Lord

Pag. 146. Lord Clarendon affirms their remarkable Inclination was to fight ; and, a little after, he acknowledges the Army was corrupted ; and as to their Ability, Pag. 191. see what my Scots Author says : *The King, and his Church-Army, being retreated, it is impossible to express the Consternation they were in ; the Scots Army being now advanc'd to Durham, were entirely possess'd of all the Counties of Durham, Northumberland, and Cumberland, and began to extend themselves towards the West, there being no Forces to oppose them, but at York ; and those under the terrible Apprehension of being attack'd.*

The Lord Clarendon, on the contrary, Pag. 145. writes, The Scots were possess'd of all the Fears imaginable, and would hardly believe their own Success, till they were assur'd that the Lord Conway, with all his Army, rested quietly in Durham, and then they presum'd to enter Newcastle. They put a bold Face upon it, two Days after they came off victorious at Newburn, and thrust themselves into Newcastle. This is very merry History ! Whitlock tells us the Truth, and that within Two Days after the Lord Conway's infamous Rout, as the Earl calls it, the Scots possess'd themselves not of Newcastle only, but Durham, p. 34. However, his Lordship assures us, They were in daily Fear, that those Quarters would have been beaten up, and so the ill Courage of their Men too easily discover'd, who were more taught to sing Psalms, and to pray, than to use their Arms. When these Gentlemen have any Jest to spare, they generally have their Point from religious and serious Things.

The Scots, in this Bishops War, had given no Cause for the Historian to treat them as Cowards, but by routing his invincible Army,

my, and by praying and singing of Psalms. There is a Lowness in this Reflection, which agrees as little with the Earl's florid Expression, as a Border of Flowers would with a Dunghill. His Lordship adds, *It was very much wonder'd at, that the Earl of Strafford, upon his first Arrival at the Army, call'd no Persons to a Council of War for that Business.* I am myself in the greater Amazement at this Wonderment, because not only some Persons, but the General of the Army, the Lord Conway himself, was call'd to an Account. Whitl. p. 34. The Miscarriage of Conway was examin'd, who being accus'd of Cowardice or Treachery, used his best Art and Flourishes to vindicate himself ; yet something stuck upon him. Notwithstanding what we have read of the confounded Rout at Newburn, of the terrible Apprehension the King's Army was in, how it was corrupted, and refus'd to fight to maintain the Bishop's Pride, the Earl of Clarendon will not part with them on such Terms. He puts fresh Courage into them, rallies the Runaways, and routs the Scots with the Help of an IF ; but the most out-of-the-way one which ever disgrac'd History : IF, after the Fight at Newburn, the King, as well as the Earl of Strafford, had made Haste to Durham, kept that Post, without staying at York, and after some exemplary Justice and Disgrace upon the Chief Officers who were faulty, till the Army had recover'd their Spirits, which in a very short Time it did, with Shame and Indignation enough, had march'd directly against the Scots, by which they would have speedily disposse's'd them of their new Conquest, and forc'd them to have run distracted into their own Country. — The Sentence is not out yet, but my Patience is. If these Men that had been so beaten, so terrify'd, had fought with

with an Enemy made bolder by Success, they would have driven them out of their Conquests, and made them fly into their own Country like so many mad Men: But being afraid to look the Scots in the Face, and not at all liking the Cause for which they were arm'd, they thought themselves in a safer Place at York, than nearer the Scots Quarters. Lord Clarendon urges the Reason of what he has said from the Behaviour of the Scots, when they were assaulted afterwards by the English; but he conceals the Cause which had turn'd the Scots Courage into Cowardice. When the English fought at Newburn, they were dispirited on Account of their fighting only to maintain the Pride of the Bishops; when they beat the Scots at Dunbar, and every where else, they fought in Defence of that Liberty for which the Scots fought at Newburn. Ludlow explains this Change of Quarrel and Courage in a contrary Manner to the Earl of Clarendon, "Upon the near Approach of the English and Scots Army, a considerable Party of each Side encounter'd, and the English, contrary to their wonted Custom, retir'd in Disorder, not without Shame, and some Loss. Of such Force and Consequence is a Belief and full Perswasion of the Justice of an Undertaking, tho' manag'd by an Enemy, in other Respects, inconsiderable." Antipodes are not more opposite, than the Lord Clarendon's political Reflection and General Ludlow's; who being a better Judge of Courage and Military Counsel than the Lord Chancellor Hyde, will the sooner persuade us into a Belief of what he says relating to the Cause and Effects of this War, which was term'd the Bishops War even in Parliament. The Earl, p. 164. represents the Rise of the War with the Scots to be thus, "His Majesty

" had

" had full Power, by the Laws of Scotland then in Force, to compel the Use of the Liturgy, &c." His Lordship calls this a Reformation; a Word which would never have been heard of, if the Church had never met with better Reformers than Laud and his Brethren. All their Petitions and Addresses had found most gracious Acceptance. White and Black again! Mem. Ch. Scotl. p. 283. Their Petitions were sent up to the King, but no favourable Answer was obtain'd. Hist. Reb. The Scots invaded all the Rights of the Crown. By the Way, there is nothing with these Gentlemen, which the Court and Courtiers do and take, but they are Rights of the Crown. They alter'd the Government, affronted the Magistrates, rejected all his Majesty's Offers of Grace and Pardon. Whereas the Truth is, their Liberties were invaded, their Religion destroy'd, their Ministers imprison'd and banish'd. They petition'd for a Redress of their Grievances, and instead of Redress, the Earl says, the King offer'd them a Pardon; which, in plain Meaning, is, "You have been persecuted and injur'd, and we most graciously pardon you for it." These are the solid Reasonings of the wise Men, and the History of the Rebellion abounds with them: They are also attended with a Political IF of the same Kind with the Military ones; IF the King's Commissioners at Rippon had been inform'd by the Scots that the latter had denounc'd War without Cause or Provocation, those noble Persons would have preserv'd themselves from being deluded. The Scots Historian writes, "That Nation protested Pag. 187. against the Concessions offer'd by Hamilton, as King-craft, to delude them, and claiming a Right to call a General Assembly by an Act of Parliament: They did not reject Pardon, but

“ but rejected an Accommodation without a perfect restoring the Church of Scotland to all her Powers and Privileges: They had good Intelligence from England of the Resolutions taken there to reduce them by Arms: Hamilton had threaten’d, *That the King had another loyal and warlike Nation at Command, and that they should soon feel it to their Cost.* These Things went before their arming; and therefore the *English* Historians are manifestly partial, who say the King arm’d only in his Defence;” and the most partial of those Historians is the Earl of Clarendon, who positively affirms, The Scots had not the least Cause of Provocation, and that they first denounced War. His Lordship charges their whole Clergy with Ignorance and Insolence. By Insolence in these Gentlemen’s Writings, nothing else is meant than Opposition; by Ignorance, nothing but not saying as they do: For as to Thinking, it does not appear, by their Way of Writing so often contrary to themselves, and every one else, that they do really think as they say; for Thought does not generally produce Contradiction and Inconsistence, which are the Buttresses of their History and Argument.

When the first Session of the Long Parliament 1640 is open’d by the noble Historian, he mentions Mr. Pym’s noted Speech of Grievances, which is a truer Representation of those felicitous Times, than what we meet with in his Lordship’s History, where they raise the *Envy and Wonder of Europe; Tunnage and Poundage unduly taken, Composition for Knighthood, Ship-Money, enlarging of Forests, unlawful military Charges by Warrant of the King, extrajudicial Declarations of Judges, Monopolies, Star Chamber Court, Edicts and Proclamations, the ambitious*

and

and corrupt Clergy, preaching absolute Power in Kings, restraining of Members of Parliament, imprisoning them, abrupt Dissolutions of Parliament, Suspension of Laws, preferring Papists to Places of Trust, encouraging Popish Tenets in Books and Sermons, Practice of Popish Ceremonies, Altars, Images, Crucifixes, Bowings, persecuting scrupulous Protestants, High-Commission Court, Fining without Law, new Canons, and as much more as here mention’d; all and every Article as well known, as that there was a King and a Parliament: Yet the Earl of Clarendon would have us believe, that the inquiring into these Things was only an Artifice of subtle designing Men, contrary to the Judgment of the Noble and the Wise. Thus Pym and Hampden are the Cunning and Crafty; Wentworth and Hyde the Knowing and Wise. These Gentlemen have not been able to stand out against the Clamours of the whole Kingdom, at the Grievances in the Reign of King Charles the First, but they will not allow Justice to be done on the Causes of them: They own the Crime, but excuse the Criminal, under Pretence of the King’s Honour in protecting his Servants: The Constitution was sick, and needed Cure; but to touch the Cause of the Distemper, was an Invasion of the Rights of the Crown; whereas it is within the Degree of common Sense to know, that the only Way to prevent Crimes, is to punish the Criminals; instead of which, the wise Men, who indeed were the Criminals, were rather for curing what was amiss, than strictly to make Inquisition into the Original of the Malady. Excellent State Surge-Pag. 171. ous! they were for healing the Wound without opening it.

The

The Earl of *Strafford* complain'd, that the House of Commons in *England* had form'd a Conspiracy against his Life: But the Earl of *Clarendon* goes farther, and informs us, the House of Commons in *Ireland* did the same; and Sir *John Chaworthy*, a Gentleman of that Kingdom, was sent over to be chosen a Member of Parliament in this, purely to be one of his Prosecutors; accordingly, by the Contrivance and Recommendation of some powerful Persons, this Man, utterly unknown in *England*, was return'd to serve for a Borough in *Devonshire*: He made a long and confus'd Relation of his tyrannical Carriage in that Kingdom. The Speech was so far from being confus'd, that *Strafford's* tyrannical Carriage was made very clear in it: So very clear, that the House of Lords, upon this Information, voted the Earl guilty of High Treason, for levying Money in *Ireland* by Force, in a warlike Manner, and for imposing an Oath on the Subjects in *Ireland*.

That the Earl of *Clarendon* might render the Parliament as odious as possible, he tells us, Pag. 176. *Their Committee of Elections*, did not so much as pretend to observe any Rule of Justice; which is the more probable, for that it was perfectly superfluous, a most unnecessary Piece of Injustice, the Majority being more than two to one on the Side of the Party his Lordship would expose here. The Light he puts their Proceedings against Grievances in, and especially *Ship-Money*, represents them as being animated by a Spirit of Wrath and Revenge, without any Concern for the Liberties and Properties of the Subject; and that monstrous Court of *Star Chamber*, where *Laud*, and his Brother Bishops, tyranniz'd so many Years, had given so little Offence, that the Parliament was forc'd to send into the Coun-
ty

try for Petitions against it, which their Emissaries procur'd, and sent up, *Hist. Reb.* pag. 180. *Every Day* producing form'd elaborate Orations against all the Acts of State which had been done for many Years preceding; and it is not to be forgotten, that the Earl himself, then Mr. *Hyde*, made one of the first of those form'd elaborate Speeches against a crying Grievance in the North, under the Government of the Earl of *Strafford*, whose Commission contain'd a Mass of new exorbitant intolerable Power: That Obedience was requir'd to the Orders of the Council Table, or High Commission Court, a Grievance of so transcendent a Nature, that a Remedy should be provided for it with no less Care, than to rescue the Life and Blood of the Commonwealth, endanger'd by the Earl of *Strafford*; whom the same Gentleman, in his History, images to us as the Champion of the Constitution, and one of the greatest Pillars of the Government. The Lord *Digby*, afterwards one of the most inveterate Enemies the Parliament had, made another of those form'd elaborate Speeches, setting forth the happy Times which the Earl declaims upon.

1. " The great and intolerable Burthen of Ship-Money.
2. " The pressing of Soldiers.
3. " Monopolies.
4. " The new Canons.
5. " The Oath to be taken by Church Officers.

Sir *John Culpeper*, who follow'd King *Charles* the First in the War, and King *Charles* the Second in Exile, made another form'd and elaborate Speech against the Encrease of Papists, new Ceremonies, the Altar, Bowings and Cringes; and

and all the Earl of Clarendon's *Beauty of Holiness* before mention'd, against *Coal and Conduct Monney, taking away the Militia Arms, against the Convocations, new Canons, against the Swarm of Vermin Monopolizers*, "Who sup in our Cup, who dip in our Dish, who sit by our Fire, who are found in the Wash-House and Powdering-Tub, who share with the Butler in his Box, who have marked and sealed us from Head to Foot, and will not abate us a Pin. These are the Leaches that have suck'd the Commonwealth so hard, that it is almost become Heftick." The very contrary of this is the Earl's Description of the Felicity of these very Times; nay, himself, in another Speech, had forgot that Felicity so much, that he said, *There cannot be a greater Instance of a sick and languishing Commonwealth, than the Business of this Day. Good God! How have the Guilty these late Years been punish'd, when the Judges have been such Delinquents.* "Tis no marvel that an irregular extravagant, arbitrary Power, like a Torrent, hath broke in upon us, when our Banks and Bulwarks, the Laws, were in the Custody of such Persons: Men who had lost their Innocence, could not preserve their Courage, nor could we look that they who had so visibly undone us, should have the Virtue or Credit to rescue us from the Oppression of other Men." Yet this was the very Time of which the same noble Person said in another Place, *Many wise Men thought those two Adjuncts, Imperium & Libertas, were as well reconciled as is possible: Which is very Republican; for if Empire and Liberty cannot be better reconciled than by Injustice and Oppression, it reduces all Monarchy to Tyranny; but the four last Reigns have prov'd Monarchy to be*

Rush.
1340.

Pag. 76.

t

be the most reconcilable to Liberty. One form'd elaborate Speech more was made by the Lord Falkland, who lost his Life in the King's Quarrel; and the Grievance he complain'd of, was Archbishop Laud's Church Government.

These Instances overthrow at once the Earl of Clarendon's artful Fabrick of Craft and Contrivance in the Leaders of the House of Commons, who spoke for Redress of Grievances; since we not only find the Leaders of his own Party, but even himself, among those who complain'd of Male-Administration with the greatest Fervour; and if himself and his Friends were prevail'd upon to join with the Court afterwards, there's no body questions, but their Interest and Ambition were satisfy'd, or hoped to be satisfy'd, before their Understandings were convinc'd. *Hist. Reb.* "The first Compliment the Parliament put upon the Scots Commissioners, was, an Order, That, upon all Occasions, the Appellation should be used of our Brethren of Scotland." The Earl in his History calls them *Rebels*; and the Scots need not be angry for it, since he calls the Parliament of England *Rebels*; and indeed it is a very significant Word with these Gentlemen; for it signifies every Mortal, Man, Woman, and Child, who would not be a Member of Laud's Church, and a Slave to his Tyranny.

The Archbishop of Canterbury was for the present laid aside, and, I am perswaded, at that Time without any Thought of resuming the Charge against him. What Reason have we from the Nature of that Charge, and the Temper of both English and Scots, to be so perswaded? His Lordship insinuates this, to give us a Conception of the Parliament's thirsting after Blood; for when they found his Age and Imprison-

E

ment

Pag. 192. ment would not kill him, they struck off his Head for Crimes which they hardly thought worth a Prosecution. The plain Reason was, The great Hurry of Business which took up the Parliament's Time, from the Earl of *Strafford's* Death to the Beginning of the *Civil War*; and while the Heat of that lasted, I am perswaded the Bishop did not run much in their Heads; but that being pretty well over, they took the first Time they could spare to bring him to Justice.

Pag. 194. His Lordship informs us, that the Privy Counsellors thought it horrible, to be arraign'd for every rash Word, every inconsiderate, every imperious Expression used at the Council Board. What has Rashness, Imperiousness, and Inconsiderateness to do with Treason? Men may be rash, inconsiderate, and imperious, and they are Fools for it, and no more: But to give treasonable Advice to the King, makes a Man a Traytor; and the Punishment of Treason is Death. *Strafford* advis'd the King to destroy his Subjects by Arms, for not submitting to illegal Taxes. The Words he said in Council were these, *The Town is full of Lords; put the Commission of Array on Foot; and if any of them stir, we will make them smart.*

Borrow of the City 100,000l. go on vigorously to levy Ship-Money. Your Majesty having try'd the Affection of your People, you are absolv'd and loose from all Rule of Government, and to do what Power will admit.

Your Majesty having try'd all Ways, and being refus'd, shall be acquitted before God and Man. And you have an Army in Ireland that you may employ to reduce this Kingdom to Obedience.

If

If there was a Lord in *England* that should give a King such Advice, and there was a Lord in *England* who would not vote for attainting him, I should think that the one deserv'd the Earl of *Strafford's* Fate as well as the other. This is what the Lord *Clarendon* would have you term rash, inconsiderate, and imperious only. All treasonable Advices are like to have those Qualities; but without the Treason, are rather to be punish'd by *Archy*, the King's Fool, than by the Executioner.

The King having made some popular Men Privy Counsellors, the Marquess of *Hamilton* acquainted the House of Lords with his Majesty's Reason for it; "His real Intention of a Reformation of all those Extravagances which former Necessities, or Mistakes, had brought into the Government of Church or State." Thus we see that the King himself confess'd there had been Mismanagement in both, and most of it is to be put to the Account of *Villiers* and *Laud*. The Lord *Clarendon* is very merry with these new Privy Counsellors, for calling the Parliament the *King's Great Council*; Pag. 197. an insipid Doctrine, and submitted to by none but stupid ones. The King was told, *He was only to be advis'd by his Parliament; which was as much as to say, that he must do whatsoever they desir'd of him: And that was as much as to say, he must redress Grievances which the Counsellors, who were not insipid and stupid, would never have advis'd him to do.* These new Counsellors were Men of strict Honour, who would not betray their King, Country, and Consciences, out of Flattery, Avarice, or Ambition; such as were sworn into the Council by King *Charles* the Second, about the Time of the Popish Plot; and the Son grew as soon weary of

of these, as the Father did of the former Privy Counsellors.

We are told, pag. 198. *All possible Licence was exercis'd in Preaching. Petitions were presented by many Parishioners against their Pastors, with Articles of Misdemeanors, most whereof consisted in Bowing at the Name of Jesus, in erecting Altars, &c.*

The Fairness of this Representation will appear by what Mr. Baxter and Dr. Calamy say on the same Subject. "Multitudes of Petitions came from all Quarters against their Ministers, charging them with *Insufficiency, False Doctrine, illegal Innovations, or Scandal.*" Mr. White, Chairman of the Committee for this Matter, publish'd two Centuries of *scandalous Ministers*, fill'd with most abominable Particularities." The Lord Clarendon can hardly allow any Offence in these Petitions, but *Bowing at the Name of Jesus, and kneeling at the Sacrament.* The abominable Particularities are sunk in his History, and instead of it, those Ministers are represented as Men of great Gravity and Learning, and most unblemish'd Lives; which not agreeing very well with the Petitions against them, his Lordship informs us, that those Petitions were surreptitiously got, against the Sense and Judgment of the Parish, and none but those who could not read or write, the Rabble, set their Hands to them; which Rabble were taught to call Men of great Gravity, Learning, and unblemish'd Lives, the *scandalous Clergy.* 'Tis impossible not to believe every Word of this, the Thing is so self-evident.

The barbarous Treatment which Mr. Prynne, Dr. Bastwick, and Mr. Burton met with, has seldom been mention'd but with Abhorrence. These three Gentlemen were of the three most credible

dible Professions, a *Barrister at Law*, a *Doctor of Physick*, and a *Batchelor of Divinity*, and not of the meanest Character in their several Faculties: But in our late famous Histories, it is these *Fellows*, these *Pillory Men*, these *stigmatiz'd Scoundrels*: When the truly stigmatiz'd are their Prosecutors, who really deserv'd the Punishment these injur'd Gentlemen suffer'd. Their Crime was not against the Laws, but against the tyrannical Priesthood; and *Whitlock*, as much a better Lawyer, as he is a sincerer Historian than the most famous of our late Writers of History, tells us, The Prelates inform'd the King and Queen, that Prynne had purposely written a Book against the Queen's *Pastoral*; whereas it was publish'd six Weeks before that *Pastoral* was acted. Is there a Word of this in the Earl of Clarendon's History, or a Word of what follows: "*Laud* set *Heylin* to work to collect the scandalous Points; which *Heylin* did, though not at all warranted by the Text of Prynne's Book. The Archbishop carry'd *Heylin's* Notes to *Noy* on a *Sabbath Day Morning*, and charg'd him to prosecute Prynne, whom the Bishops sent to the *Tower*." Pag. 13. Pag. 16.

We read also in *Whitlock*, that Dr. *Bastwick* was punish'd for maintaining the King's Prerogative against Papacy, at the same Time that *Laud* patroniz'd a Book written by one *Chawney* in Defence of the *Popish Religion*. Archbishop *Laud* is charg'd by *Whitlock* with procuring the Sentence against Prynne; and he was as busy in the Case of *Bastwick* and *Burton*: The Offence taken against them, was for writing against the Bishops; for which the Lord Clarendon gives them this Character.

Prynne convers'd with factious bot-headed Divines, and contracted a venomous Dislike to the Discipline of the Church, and so by Degrees, as the Progress is very natural, an equal Irreverence to the Government of the State. This is the Logick, No Bishop no Government; for with these Gentlemen, there can be no Government where there is no Bishop. Thus the very wise Republick of Holland is no Government, there being no Bishop; and the wise Canton of Berne is in a State of Anarchy, because there is no Prelacy. There is a Patriarch at Venice, and a Bishop at Lucca, but there is no King; however, there being Bishops, these Gentlemen allow there may be some Government. His Lordship adds, Prynne's Discourses were absurd, petulant, and supercilious: Very serious and decisive! *Hudibras* expresses it more merrily,

*Thou that with Ale, or viler Liquors,
Didst inspire Withers, Prynne, and Vicars.*

And the witty Author who wrote an Epitaph upon him, very much admir'd at Oxford:

*But whilst he this hot Humour bugs,
And for more Length of Tedder tugs,
Death fang'd the Remnant of his Lugs.*

They seem to use Mr. Prynne as Boys do Dogs, and cut off his Ears on purpose to laugh at him.

The Earl of Clarendon's Character of Dr. Bastwick, is, *A half-witted crack-brain'd Fellow, who had gotten a Doctorship and Latin, with which, in a very flowing Stile, he inveighed against*

against the Prelates of the Church; who inveighed much more bitterly against him, in this detestable Sentence, To have his Ears cut off in the Pillory; to pay 5000 l. and be imprisoned in Lancaster Castle.

His Lordship says of Mr. Burton the Divine, *The Vapours of Ambition fuming in his Head, he would not think of less than being Clerk of the Closet, and committed two or three such weak, sawcy Indiscretions, as caused an Inhibition that he should not come to Court; so he turned Lecturer, and preached against the Bishops, being endued with Malice and Boldness, instead of Learning, and any tolerable Parts: Every thing is in the Affirmative! He was foolish and sawcy: It could not be otherwise, when he wrote against so pious a Prelate as Neile, Bishop of Durham, whom the Parliament had addressed against. He was malicious and impudent, which is further explained by Whitlock, p. 24. He wrote two smart and sharp Tracts against Episcopacy. Weak Men, without tolerable Parts, are most likely of any; to write sharp and smart Tracts. If I should charge the Noble Historian with the Prevarication here, his Admirers, to a Man, would call me saucy; but they dare not charge me with Falshood, without charging Mr. Whitlock also, who, as I have often observed, is universally allowed to be the fairest Writer in our Language. The People of England were generally affected with the Inhumanity these Sufferers met with from Laud, and his Brethren. This was shewn by great Companies attending them when they were carried to their several Gaols, and when they returned to London. The Earl will needs have it, that the Men, Women, and Children, who went out of the City to meet them, were an *Insurrection* Page 202. against the King; a terrible one indeed, when*

Boys and Girls, as well as Men and Women, were engaged in it: Nay, it was not only an Insurrection, but an artful one; the Contrivance, doubtless, of Mr. Selden, and Mr. Hampden; *An Effect of great Industry and Policy*: Again, *All Pulpits were freely delivered up to the schismatical and silenced Preachers.*

I have elsewhere shewn, what his Lordship would have us understand by Schism. The Reformed Religion established in *Holland, Geneva, Swisserland, Scotland, &c.* The silenced Preachers, were those whom *Laud's* spiritual Courts had turned out of their Churches, for opposing the Profanation of the Lord's Day. This is Fact, and will not be denied me.

Pag. 49. Now as to the delivering up of the Pulpits, read what Dr. Calamy writes. *It hath, indeed, been asserted, That it was seditious Preachers who stirred up the People, and were the Cause of all the Commotions; which is a notorious Falsity.* I dare not say so much; it is Dr. Calamy who says, *That this Delivery up of the Pulpits, is notoriously false*: And he gives this Reason, "Many, indeed, there were, who discovered their Dislike of the Book of Sports, and bowing to Altars, and diminishing Preaching, and silencing Ministers, &c. and were glad that the Parliament attempted a Reformation; but very few, even of these, stirred up to War, but were fearful of the Consequences: But this is certain, That whether they did so more or less, they were almost all of them conformable Ministers; the Laws and Bishops having cast out Nonconformists long enough before."

Hist. Re-
bel. 202. "This Parcel of History is closed with an IF. If either the Privy Council, or the Judges, or the King's learned Council, had assumed the Courage to have questioned the 20,000 Men,
"Women,

"Women, and Children, who went out to meet Prynne, &c. it had been no hard Matter to have destroyed those Seeds of Sedition;" IF the Privy Council, the Judges, and the King's learned Council, had not destroyed themselves in the Attempt; for Prynne, Bastwick, and Burton, were discharged by Order of Parliament, and encouraged to complain against their Prosecutors.

We shall now know what the Earl, and all Writers on that Side, mean by the Church; for his Lordship informs us, *The first Malignity that was apparent in Parliament, was against the Church*; And then there is an Account of Alderman Pennington's, and the Citizens, Petition, which, *Whitlock* says, was against Ceremonies; and Four Days after, the House of Commons resolved,

"That the Clergy, in a Synod, or Convocation, hath no Power to make Laws, Canons, or Constitutions, to bind either Laity, or Clergy, without the Parliament; and that the Canons made by the late Convocation, are against the fundamental Laws of this Realm, the King's Prerogative, Propriety of the Subject, the Rights of Parliament, and do tend to Faction and Sedition.

This was obtained the 15th of December, 1640, and the Petition was presented the 11th of December, whereas the Earl says, Nothing was done, after a long Debate upon the Petition, but a Vote that it should not be rejected; and the Committee of Religion, according to his Lordship, debated Points beyond the Verge of their Understanding; that is, Mr. Selden did not know so much as Peter Heylin. We are told also, That the

Pag. 143. the Clergy, in Convocation, might make Canons, but not give Money.

To discredit *Pennington's* Petition, the Earl tells us, it was a Trick of the Parliament-Leaders, whose Instruments drew up a plausible Petition, and got a Roll of Names to it; after which, they cut off the Roll, and tack'd it to such a Petition, as was fit for their Purpose. This being a Part of *Secret History*, one cannot but be enamoured with it; though what Occasion was there for so much Craft, when *London*, as his Lordship intimates, was the Sink of all the ill Humours against the Church; and instead of 20,000 Hands, might have produced 100,000. The Addresses in *Harley's* Time, were, for the most Part, got that Way, as was then suspected. The chief Knave in the Contrivance of this Trick, was Mr. *Stephen Marshal*, who was, by no means, acceptable to the Royalists; and who, for denying in his Funeral Sermon for the Great Mr. *Pym*, that he died of the Lowly Disease, was sufficiently rail'd at by that Party. *A. Wood* calls him the Arch-Flamen of the *Rebellious Rout*. The best Name they can find out for the Lords and Commons of *England*, in Parliament Assembled. *A. Wood*, the *Oxonian*, calls them, *The Rebellious Rout*; and the History of the Civil War, is intitled, *The History of the Rebellion*. His Lordship assures

Pag. 205. us, *The Ceremonies had been long practis'd*; but he does not tell us by whom. The *Papists* had long practis'd them, it is true; but all Reformed Christians had complain'd of them, and protested against them.

I take this Opportunity to declare, That I do not say, or insinuate, any thing against decent Ceremonies in divine Service, as it is my own Opinion; for I have seen the Practice of them by serious Christians, which has been very edifying; but

but those serious Christians have not made them essential; nor wanted Charity so much as to enforce them; nor embracing the Form, renounced the Power of Godliness; nor made use of them as a Mark of Distinction, to oppress their scrupulous, conscientious Neighbours, and serve their Passions or Interests. This bad Use of them, is the Subject of Complaint, in all faithful Relations of the Facts at that Time. Those Preachers who were most Zealous for them, in order to establish them out of Bigotry, or Spite, complimented the Court with absolute and despotick Power. The Court accepted of their grateful Adoration, and, in Return, bestowed a subordinate Power on themselves. This Doctrine was the only Way to Favour. The Party monopoliz'd the Name of *Church*, and all that would not submit to their Domination, were *Factionous*, *Seditious*, *Schismatical*, and whatever else Malice and Rage could think of. They cannot deny, that this is the fair State of the Case; and it will serve further, to explain those Terms which are the Hieroglyphicks of the History of the *Rebellion*, and stand in stead of Liberty, Grievances, and Reformation, as has been before hinted, and must be hinted again, to clear Things as we go.

The Earl tells us, *The House of Commons*, that Pag. 206. is, the major Part, made no Scruple, in that Heat, to declare, That the Convocation had no Power to make Canons, notwithstanding it was apparent by Law, and the uncontradicted Practice of the Church, that Canons had never been otherwise made; Which notable Vote and Declaration—I cannot pretend to quote whole Sentences out of his Lordship's History; there is such Plenty of Words, that one can scarce tell which to take of them, and which to leave. The Matter will come into less than a tenth Part of them. Sir *Hartbottle Grimston*,
in

Rushw.
1349.

in a Speech on this very Subject, gives us good Light into it. "There hath been, since the last Parliament, a Synod; in that Synod, a new Oath hath been made and framed, and enjoined to be taken. They might as well have made a new Law, and enjoined the Execution of that, as enjoined and urged the taking of the Oath, not being established by Act of Parliament; and, in Point of Mischief, the Safety of the Common-Wealth, and the Freedom and Liberties of the Subject, are more concerned in the doing of the one, than if they had done the other. They would have us, at the very first Dash, swear in a damnable Heresy, &c." Was it ever the *uncontradicted Practice of the Church*, to swear People into a damnable Heresy? What Appellations must such Sort of History go by? I leave it to the Reader, under a very just Apprehension, that it will not be allowed me to say what I could on that, and other such Passages. *The Parliament sent a formal*

Embassy of Lords and Commons, to the City to borrow Money. This is intimated as a Design to give the Leaders the Credit of the Loan; whereas *Whitlock* writes, p. 38. The House commanded Mr. Speaker to write to the City of London, to advance 60,000*l.* so that the formal Ambassadors had no greater Trust, than a Penny Postman. In the City, *all the grave and substantial Men were left out in the Elections of Common Council Men*: The Puritans were, it seems, all the rakehelly and beggarly Fellows, which every one knows could not be otherwise.

I believe I shall be excused for not taking Notice of his Lordship's severe Animadversions on the Parliament, for taking Care that the Money they gave, should be applied to the intended

tended Uses. *They did not leave the King Money to buy Meat.* I understand that to be, they did not leave Money to be lavish'd on Favourites and Flatterers; for they always look on their own Meat, or rather their own immense Treasures, as the King's; or rather, indeed, the King's, as their own. *'Twas thought necessary, that the People should be refreshed with some behooveful Law.* After so many Subsidies given to secure the Sitting of Parliament, which had been discontinued twelve Years, the *Triennial Bill* was brought into the House of Commons, and is the behooveful Law, with which the Noble Historian makes himself merry; for the Word *behooveful*, has too much *Scotch* in it, to have a Place in a History of Eloquence, had it not been to make a Jest of that Act of Parliament, which was founded on the best Policy at that Juncture; as we see by the Lord Digby's Speech concerning it: "Surely there is no Man, but will conclude with me, that as the Want of Parliaments hath been the *Causa Causarum* of all the Mischiefs and Distempers of the present Times; so Frequency of Parliaments is the sole Catholick Antidote that can preserve and secure us, for the future, from the like Danger."

This noble Lord will be allowed to have done much more in Person, for the King's Service, than the Earl of Clarendon, yet he is so far from laughing at this *Behooveful*, that he adds, "Let me yet draw my Discourse a little nearer to his Majesty himself, and tell you, that the Frequency of Parliament, is most essentially necessary to the Power, the Security, the Glory of the King." We must observe further, that the Lord Digby calls the Male Administration of Villiers, Wentworth, Laud, &c. the

the *Distempers* of that Time, as being the Cause of the Grievances which made them. Now the Lord *Clarendon* calls the Complaints which those Grievances occasioned, The *Distempers* in which their Lordships agree, as *Laud* and *Hugh Peters* did.

I did enough consider the Difficulty of the Task, when I first thought of this Undertaking. I remember I had met with numberless Instances of Prevarication, and Misrepresentation in the History of the *Rebellion*; but I did not remember, that almost every one of the Historical Instances, were of that Kind; which, however, is to be proved in Part, or in Whole, were it not to write a Library, instead of a Book. The Turn given to the intended Advancement of *Hollis*, *Pym*, and other Leaders in the House of Commons, is of the same Nature. The great Patriots thought they might be able to do their Country better Service, if they got the Places and Preferments for themselves, and so prevent the evil Counsels which had used to spring from thence. This is Raillery; though the Truth is, the evil Counsels did spring from the evil Counsellors, and if they had been turned out, there might have been Hopes at least, that the evil Counsels would have gone with them. The Men to be removed, have no Character of Wisdom left, in any one Instance of their Counsel or Action: The Men to be put in, are eminent for Abilities and good Principles. The Lord *Clarendon* himself owns, it was great Pity they had not been put in; and from the Behaviour of Mr. *St. John*, one has Reason to believe, these Gentlemen were not ready to sacrifice the Liberties and Properties of their Fellow Subjects, to the Ambition of Favourites, or Bigotry of Priests, but would have preferred the publick Interest,

Pag. 24

10

to all private Considerations. Mr. *St. John* accepted of the Place of Solicitor General. He did not, in the least Degree, abate his malignant Spirit, but, with the same Obstinacy, opposed every thing which might advance the King's Service. It will be granted me, that malignant Spirit here, is nothing worse, than his being sensible of the ill Effects of the evil Counsels before mentioned; and that the King's Service here, is nothing better, than the skreening those evil Counsellors, and filling the *Exchequer* with Money, to enrich Court Flatterers, and render Parliaments useless.

The Forms for the Earl of *Strafford's* Tryal, have the same Infirmary. They could find no Precedent would fit their Case; whether it should be in the House of Peers; who should prosecute; whether Members chosen of the Commons, or the King's Council; whether the Bishops should have Voices in the Tryal. The setting up the Benches in *Westminster-Hall*, is represented as an Act of Cunning. They foresaw they might be put to another Kind of Proceeding; insinuating the turning the Tryal into an Attainder; but the arguing against trusting the King's Council with a Cause against the King's chief Favourite, is prodigious. If one Mortal in the House of Commons, ever thought of such a Thing, sure he could not be so weak as to mention it; yet the only Reason we have against it in the History of the *Rebellion*, is, That the King's Council did not know the Witnesses the Parliament had procured; it is not said, suborn'd. They did not know their secret Evidence. An Insinuation, which seems to me, to have no more of Honour in it, than of Charity. The Bishops were excused, or rather forbidden, Attendance at the Tryal, for fear of their being too tender-hearted;

Pag. 215.

Pag. 40.

hearted; as in the Story of Dr. Leighton, who, by a bloody Sentence, was scourged and mangled, in a more cruel Manner, than ever Christian Slave suffered at Morocco. Whitlock tells us the Truth with great Simplicity. *The Bishops were excluded by the Canons of the Church, to be assistant in Cases of Blood and Death; and therefore they absented themselves from this Tryal. This Canon, the Earl says, was the only one they acknowledged for Orthodox: Among the Volumes of Canons, of Councils, and Synods, the House of Commons allowed this only one to be Valid, Clericus non debet interesse sanguini. I do not conceive how this needs any Remark. But though they had this old Canon on their Side, they only made use of it as a Pretence; for there was a Judas among the Bishops, who, without Law or Reason, had promised to get the Bishops out of the House, by terrifying or abusing them. They had a Trick of doing their Business, Hist. Reb. p. 216. Bishop Williams was a Puritan, so far as to love none of the Bishops. Witness every Word of Bishop Hacket's Life of that very Bishop Williams.*

When his Lordship is commending Mr. Palmer, one of the Managers at Strafford's Tryal, for his Decency of Language. He informs us, Palmer lost all his Credit with them, and never recovered it. The Term *Them*, and *They*, implies, a Conspiracy in the Parliament of England, to destroy that Constitution, which they endeavoured to preserve, as long as their Votes were free, and no Force was put upon them. Mr. Palmer's Arguments had more Weight, than all the Noise of the rest. Some of them, it seems, could Bite, as well as Bark; for the Queen, who heard the Tryal, upon some Exceptions taken against what Sir Walter Earl had spoken, asked,

asked who he was, and being told, said, *That Water Dog did Bark, but not Bite; but the rest did Bite close.* The Earl of Clarendon tells us, they did nothing but Bark, or make a Noise.

There is a very entertaining Relation in the History of the Rebellion, of a Difference in Opinion, which once only happened between Mr. Hyde, the noble Historian, and the Lord Falkland, and that was about Bishops. Mr. Hyde and that Lord always Sitting together, and Voting together, 'till this Debate happened, in which the Lord Falkland differed from Mr. Hyde, who spoke for the Bishops. His Lordship did not remain long in that Opinion, the Effect of Mr. Hampden's tampering with him, but in Six Months Time he gave them all the Opposition he could, being convinced by wiser Men than Mr. Hampden, that he was out in every Word of his Speech. *Ruslow. p. 1342. A little Search will find the Bishops to have been the Destruction of Unity, under Pretence of Uniformity, and to have been less eager upon those who damn our Church, than upon those who, upon weak Consciences, only abstained from it, &c.* His Lordship is only telling Fact, known to every one that heard him, and, unless the Fact had been false, what Arguments could he meet with, to convince him that he was wrong? Such Arguments, doubtless, as prevailed upon Sir Thomas Wentworth, Mr. Noy, Lord Digby, and others, to quit the Party and Principles which they had zealously espoused, but did not succeed with Mr. St. John; and I F Mr. Hollis, Mr. Pym, Mr. Hampden, had given Ear to such Arguments, by accepting the Places that were offered to them, I question whether

F

they

they would have been convinced by them, in the Manner the Lord *Falkland* was.

The Clamour that was raised in the City by the Obstruction the Earl of *Strafford's* Bill of Attainder met with, put it into some Commotion, and the Lord *Clarendon* informs us, the Dissenters in Parliament, which were not many, had their Names written in Pieces of Paper, with *STRAFFORDIANS* superscrib'd, which is not all the Truth, for the *Londoners* pictur'd these *Straffordians* hanging up by the Heels, with the Superscription before mentioned.

The Ceremonies had been in constant Practice, since the Reformation: Hist. Reb. p. 233. Besides that every-body knows, the constant Practice of receiving the holy Sacrament, since the Reformation, was at the Communion Table, in the Body of the Church, which *Laud* innovated to an Altar at the East End, with Steps and Rails; Images and Crucifixes, were now brought in again, which had been thrown out, and other Innovations of still a more scandalous Nature, as profaning the Sabbath by a publick Edict, and other Novelties; some of which, the Papists themselves would have rejected, as particularly the *Book of Sports*. There were only at that Time taken Notice of the Lords *Say and Brook*, as against the whole *Fabrick of the Church*. The Lord *Wharton* was as much taken Notice of as either of those two other Lords; and tho' the Earl of *Essex's* Household Chaplain, was so very Orthodox, the Chaplain to his Regiment was the same Mr. *Stephen Marshal*, who is charged with falsifying the *London* Petition against the Bishops.

Page. 234.

The

The Conspiracy in the Army, to assist the King against the Parliament, has not been questioned by any sober Writer; but the Lord *Clarendon* does not allow the Conspirators to have been in earnest, only to talk of such a bold Thing out of Frolick: But if there was nothing dangerous intended by it, why was the King's Sign Manual to a sort of Association sent down from *London* to them, to set their Hands to it? "There was not," says the P. 243. "Earl of *Clarendon*, a Man in the Company, who did not perfectly abhor that odious Proposition, to bring up the Army to *London*, and awe the Parliament, but contented themselves with making such Objections, as render'd it ridiculous." If the Business was so merry, why were the *Junto* of Officers, who transacted it, sworn to Secrecy; as *Whitlock* informs us? and *Ludlow*, p. 15. "At P. 44. "this Time a treacherous Design was set on Foot, not without the Participation of the King, as appeared under his own Hand, to bring up the *English* Army, and, by Force, to dissolve the Parliament, &c." This Incident, and the Stabbing Mr. *Hayward*, a Justice of the Peace in *Westminster*, by one *James* a Papist, whom he had summoned before him to take the Oaths, encreased Peoples Jealousies extremely, and could have no other Effect, unless they believed, as the Earl of *Clarendon* would have us believe, That the *Junto* of the Army were in Jest, and *James* the Papist, a crazy Wretch, who should rather have been sent to *Bedlam* to take Physick, than have been sent for by a Justice, to take the Oaths. The Proof of the Innocence of the *Junto*, which his Lordship offers to the Reader at the Close

F 2

of

Pag. 251. of the Affair, is, That those of them who were *accused*, fled to France; not that there was any Harm in what had been doing, but because they would not trust the Lords and Commons of England, whose Formality of Justice, was first to imprison, and after, at their Leisure, to examine. All these crafty Designs was to pass the Earl of *Strafford's* Bill of Attainder, and, truly, they could not use too much Craft, where there were no fewer than 50 odd Voices against the Bill, and but 150 for it, in the House of Commons.

The Conspiracy in the Army, which was never denied, could not but alarm the People within Doors and without, who were much in the Right to apprehend Danger from an Armed Power, having already suffered so much from a Power without Arms. This occasioned a Protestation or Association, opposite to that of the Soldiery: In this Protestation, they resolved to defend the Church of England against all Popery, and Popish Innovations. His Lordship intimates, that many well-affected Persons fell in with this, on account of the Clause to defend the Protestant Religion, expressed in the Doctrine of the Church of England; but against all Popish Innovations, is left out; such as *Altars, Bowings, &c.* which were never reckoned as Part of the True Reformed Protestant Religion.

By a Sketch of the Lord *Say's* Character, one may learn what Foundation there is for other Characters in the *History of the Rebellion*.
Pag. 256. "Many believed his Will was much worse than his Understanding, and that he intended to betray the King." *Whitlock*, whose Sincerity admits of no Suspicion, and who knew this Lord much better than Sir *Edward Hyde* did,

did, tells us, He was a Man of great Parts, Wisdom, and Integrity. The Memorials shew how well the Lord Commissioner *Whitlock*, and the Lord *Say*, were acquainted, p. 60. &c.

The Earl of *Strafford's* Fate approaching, we are told, Great Multitudes of People came down to Westminster, making Outcries with great Rudeness and Insolence; with unheard-of Acts of Insolence and Sedition; the Rabble cried out, Pag. 255. Justice, with insolent Threats in their traiterous Riots. All this is the Sobriety of History; whereas the sober Fact is, in *Whitlock*, "The King being much perplexed, between the Clamours of a discontented People, and an unsatisfied Conscience, took Advice of several Bishops, and of others his intimate Counsellors, and the major Part of them urged to him, the Opinions of the Judges, That this was Treason, and the Bill Legal. They pressed likewise the Votes of Parliament, that he was but one Man; that no other Expedient could be found out to appease the enraged People." Without adding, as in the History of the Rebellion, You ought to be more tender of the Safety of the Kingdom, than of any one Person, how innocent soever. Instead of mentioning his Innocence, they alledged the Opinions of the Judges, that the Charge was Treason.

We are then informed, that Bishop *Williams*, one of the Bishops whom the King consulted, used unprelatical, ignominious Arguments.

Bishop *Hacket*, in his Life of that Prelate, informs us, That he used no Arguments at all: Though I have good Reason to object against many Passages in Bishop *Hacket's* Book,
F 3 yet

yet in this which so much concerns his Patron's Reputation, I cannot forbear giving Faith to it: Yet the Lord Clarendon redoubles upon Bishop Williams, and affirms, He acted his Part with *prodigious Boldness and Impiety*. After which, I recommend the rest of the noble Historian's History of *Strafford*, which is written with equal Candour and Sincerity, especially that surprizing Piece of secret History, IF the King refused to pass the Bill, a great Person who had Command in the Tower, would have caused his Head to be stricken off; meaning, with much Charity, that the Parliament would have had the Earl of *Strafford* assassinated, IF they could not get him executed: But the King was prevailed upon to consent to it, by a pathetic Letter from the Earl himself; which Letter is mentioned by *Whitlock*, but with this Doubt, *A Letter was said to be sent*. The Lord Clarendon is positive here, as in all other such Passages, though what follows out of the Lord Commissioner *Whitlock*, proves, that this Letter was never sent, or if sent, 'twas a Farce; for the Earl of *Strafford* did not believe a Word of what he writ, but depended upon the King's Favour to him, to the last. "After he had signed the Bills, the King sent Secretary *Carleton* to the Earl, to acquaint him with what was done, and the Motives of it, especially the Earl's Consent, who seriously asked the Secretary, Whether his Majesty had passed the Bill or not? as not believing, without some Astonishment, that the King would have done it; and being assured it was pass'd, he rose up from his Chair, lift up his Eyes to Heaven, laid his

Mem. 44.

"Hand

"Hand on his Heart, and said, *Put not your Trust in Princes, nor in the Sons of Men, for in them there is no Salvation.*" The Writing of the pathetic Letter, was only Report, as in *Whitlock*; but *Strafford's* being deceived in the King's Behaviour, is told us, without any Doubt of the Truth of it.

The Lord Clarendon had as many Opportunities to know this, as Mr. *Whitlock*; why then do we not find it in the History of the Rebellion? This Tragedy ends with Two IF's; If his Majesty had, instead of passing that Act, come to the House and dissolved the Parliament; or, If he had withdrawn himself from that seditious City, and put himself in the Head of his own Army, much of the Mischief had been prevented.

These Two IF's are so very much out of the Way, that his Lordship gives them up in the very next Words, though not for the sake of another IF, which I will help his Admirers to; IF the King had put himself at the Head of his own Army, after he had dissolved the Parliament, and had left the City of London exasperated against him, what fine Work would the Scots Army have made with the King's, which would have had the whole Nation, in a manner, to contend with in Front, and the victorious Scots Army in Rear?

I have hinted in another Place, that the Panegyrist on the Earl of *Strafford*, exhaust themselves in the Praise of his Wisdom, tho' there is not one Fact in History, which gives a Colour to that Panegyrick; for surely they will not allow the Counsel he gave the King, to destroy the Constitution, to be a very wise Act. He was a Man of great Observation, and a piercing Judgment.

ment. Was that same Counsel of his, which was proved upon him by the Earl of Northumberland, one of the greatest and wisest Peers in the *Englisch* Senate, a Specimen of his great Observation and piercing Judgment? But there would be no End of it, if one should go about to disprove their Eulogy: The shortest, and surest Way, will be to suppose always the contrary.

The Lord Clarendon tells us, No Privy Counsellor had Parts equal to the Earl of Strafford; but the Lord Coventry, and Whitlock, tell us, as I have told you already, The Lord Coventry was of no transcendent Parts or Fame. What Hope have we to find Likeness in any one of their Pictures?

The Argument for taking Tonnage and Poundage, without Consent of Parliament, is as amazing, as convincing. *It must always be acknowledged as the free Gift of the People*, Hist. Reb. p. 264. But though it was a free Gift, and of Consequence to be paid, or not paid, as the Parliament enacted, yet *it was so essential a Part of the Revenue, that the King could not be without it*. What follows, has still more Wonder in it: *As the King is not less King before his Coronation, than he is after, so this Duty had been still enjoyed as freely as before*: As Tinterden Steeple was the Cause of Goodwin Sands, so good People love one another. The King was such before the Coronation, but the Duty was no Duty, 'till it was given by Parliament: If it was still enjoyed, the Possession was never disputed; but when the Parliament did dispute it, 'twas no more a Duty, because it was to be their free Gift.

The

The Parliament thought they had good Reasons to defer giving this Duty; and the King's Officers forc'd the Payment of a Free-Gift to the Ruin of Trade and Traders. The Custom-house Officers, by Encouragement from their Masters, being so insolent as to declare, *If all the Parliament were concern'd in Mr. Rolls, a Member's Goods which they had seiz'd, they would make Seizure of them.* Whitl. pag. 12.

The Earl himself, when Mr. Hyde, spoke against the seizing of the Merchants Goods, and denying them Justice; "As for that presumptuous Decree against Mr. Rolls, and others, and, in Truth, whatsoever Gloss they put upon it, it is no other than a plain Grant of the Subsidy, &c. The Judges refus'd to grant the Merchants Replevins, which we all know, as in no other Suit lies against the King, if the Goods be in his own Hands; so that the Injustice there, is not so scandalous as the Fraud." What shall we call these Judges, who permitted the Force put upon Merchants to pay the Tax, which, in the History, we are told by the same Person, it was their Duty to pay?

We read in the *History of the Rebellion*, pag. 279. That upon the King's going to Scotland, The Parliament desir'd he would leave a Commission with some Persons to pass Acts; but when they found that no such Commission could be legally granted. — How could they find this, when such a Commission was actually sign'd to divers great Lords for passing of Bills in his Absence? Whitl. pag. 45.

I will not flatter the Noble Historian so much, as to extol the Art with which the tragical Story of the truly horrid Rebellion in Ireland is introduced;

duc'd; for the Design by it lies too open; and I no sooner read, *I must not omit here the Disbanding another Army, the Circumstances whereof were the Cause of much Trouble*, than I knew that the Massacre which follow'd, would be imputed to the King's parting with that dear Army, which had been rais'd by the Earl of Strafford to invade Scotland, if not England.

Pag. 288. I shall only repeat the Words of the History concerning Mr. Pym's Intrigues with the French Ambassador, *One or two affirm'd, that he receiv'd Five thousand Pounds, as a Bribe, of the Ambassador of France.* The Committee of Parliament from Ireland, mention'd in the Earl of Strafford's Trial, had some Foresight of the bloody Massacre, and therefore are very blame-worthy for not taking more Care to prevent it. The Parliament of England being adjourn'd in August, 1641, the Earl of Clarendon does not part with them in any better Humour than he kept them Company. *Besides all their extraordinary Acts of Blood.* One would think they had been so many Butchers; tho' this *All* may be reduc'd to a solitary Bill of Attainder.

The High Commission Court was an excellent Means to preserve the Dignity and Peace of the Church. A Member of the House of Commons said in a Speech, *Rushw. p. 1345,* "With the Papists there is a severe Inquisition, and with us there is a bitter High Commission; yet herein their Inquisitors are better than our High Commissioners; they do not punish such as profess and practise their Religion: but with us, how many poor distressed Ministers, how many Scores of them, have been lately suspended, degraded, and excommunicated, though not guilty of the Breach of any
"esta-

"establish'd Laws?" These were the Methods of preserving the Peace of the Church. Quite contrary to those many Scores, who were indeed some Hundreds, the Earl writes, *I do not know that ever any innocent Clergymen suffer'd by any Ecclesiastical Censure.* We will give up all the Puritans who were conformable till Laud's Innovations: Were not the following Divines innocent, Dr. Hall, Bishop of Norwich; Dr. Prideaux, Bishop of Worcester; Dr. Brownrigg, Bishop of Exeter; Dr. Moreton, Bishop of Durham; all the orthodox Anti-Arminians, Heads of both Universities, and also Dr. Saunderson and Dr. Featly, with many others, who underwent the same Fate with the Puritan Ministers? *Coke Vol. I. p. 350.*

The Star Chamber Court was put down, for a thousand Enormities committed there during Laud's Administration; but, says his Lordship, the putting of it down, was not more politick, than the setting of it up again may be thought hereafter. *Whilst it was gravely and moderately govern'd,* Pag. 284, *it was of excellent Use to preserve the Dignity of the King; as the High Commission Court was said to be to preserve the Dignity of the Church.* The Lord Andover, in his Speech against this excellent Court, informs us, that the very Words of the Statute which set it up, clearly shew, that it was a needless Institution at first, and now grown to a Monster. *Rushw. 1359.*

At the Close of the first Volume, the Earl gives a List of the popular Acts pass'd by the King during the first Session of this Parliament, and, as if it had all been done out of his Majesty's own voluntary Motion, the last Sentence is somewhat Rhapsodical. "These Acts were everlasting Monuments of the King's
"Princely

“ Princely and Fatherly Affection to his People,
 “ and such an Obligation of Trust and Re-
 “ pose from his Majesty in the Hearts of his
 “ Subjects, that no Expressions of Piety, Du-
 “ ty, and Confidence from them, could have
 “ been more than a sufficient Return on their
 “ Parts.”

General *Ludlow* reflects otherwise, “ The
 “ King pleas’d himself with Hopes, that a sea-
 “ sonable Time for dissolving the Parliament
 “ would come, and then all Power reverting in-
 “ to his own Hands, he would deal with their
 “ new-enacted Laws, as he had done before with
 “ their *Petition of Right*, &c.

The *Triennial Bill* was purchas’d by the Act
 of Tonnage and Poundage; the *Star Chamber*
 Bill by the Poll Money, pass’d at the same Time,
 and other Bills were pass’d to appease the Cla-
 mours of the People.



C H A P.



C H A P. II.

Containing Remarks on the History of
the Rebellion. Vol. I. Part II.

IN the Beginning of the Second Part
 of the First Volume, is an Error of
 so little Weight, that I cannot ac-
 count for it; “ When the King Pag. 45.
 “ came to *Tork*, which was about
 “ the Middle of *August*, he found no Part of
 “ either Army disbanded.” *Whitlock* writes, *It was*
agreed to disband both the Armies, which was ac-
cordingly done the 6th of August; and the King
went from London the 10th. Hist. Reb. 290.

The Encouragement given to Popery and
 Papists was so great, that the Earl is oblig’d to
 confess it, pag. 148, 149. “ The Papists had
 “ for many Years enjoy’d a great Calm; they
 “ were look’d upon as good Subjects; their
 “ Pomp and Boldness encreas’d; they resorted
 “ at common Hours to Mass, with as much Bare-
 “ facedness as others went to Church; they
 “ made Profelytes with such Circumstances, as
 “ provok’d the Rage of powerful Families; the
 “ Priests were departed from their Modesty and
 “ Fear; and for the most invidious Protection
 of

“ of that whole Party, publick Agents from
 “ *Rome* resided at *London*, in great Port; publick-
 “ ly visited the Court, and were avowedly resort-
 “ ed to by the Catholicks of all Conditions, over
 “ whom they assum’d a particular Jurisdiction.”

With a great deal more of the like Nature: Yet his Lordship can’t help laughing at the shallow People of *England*, to be at all jealous of the Growth of Popery, and complaining of the Favour shewn to Papists. The Earl, and other Writers of the same Bent, use much Ceremony when they speak of them; they are the *Catholicks*, the *Romans*: They may as well call them the *Goths*, and the *Vandals*; none but true reform’d Christians being of Christ’s Catholick Church: Such as believe, worship, and live as the Laws and Rules of our Saviour and his Apostles direct. Such are the true Catholicks, under whatever Denomination they pass. But the *Papists* found their Religion on impious and ridiculous Rites and Ceremonies, on the vain Inventions of Men, to support the Pride, Power, and Avarice of Priests. These were the Favourites of the Times his Lordship writes of; yet with a merry Air we are told, “ The Papists were the
 “ most popular common Place, and the Butt
 “ against whom all the Arrows were directed.”

Vol. I.
 Part II.
 Pag. 290.

And some Orders of Parliament being made upon the Occasion of the Countenance given to the *Romans*, part of which only we have taken from the *History of the Rebellion*, the Earl tells us, It serv’d to keep up Fears: And then follows some positive History of the Parliament, which is as courtly, as well grounded; *They grew to a Licence of Language, without the least Respect of Persons, of how venerable Estimation soever.* We could have told what their Estimation was, had they

they been nam’d; and doubt not we should have found them to be the very Persons who were the Cause of the Grievances and Complaints, such as *Laud*, *Neile*, *Wren*; all under Parliamentary Impeachments. Again, “ The Parliament departed
 “ from all Order or Regularity of Debates, or
 “ Rules, and Measures of judging.” Here is a Charge without Proof; which every Word in *Whitlock* contradicts. The Lord Commissioner representing this Assembly as compos’d of Persons eminent for Wisdom, Fortune, Learning, and Worth; and none but a Parcel of Scoundrels could act so disorderly and irregularly, and judge without Rule and Measure. There are not greater Names in the *English* History, which I could easily prove, had I Room and Patience for such a needless Inquisition. Again, *The chief Rulers amongst them, first designing what they thought fit to be done, and the rest concluding any thing lawful that they thought, in order to the doing and compassing the same; in which neither Laws nor Customs could be admitted to signify any thing against their Sense.* The Leaders were the irregular, disorderly Rascals; and the Led were so many Idiots with Strings in their Noses. I must own such History as this is shocking, to a Degree not to be spoken of, when a Lord Chancellor is the Historian: Some of these Leaders were,

Denzill Hollis, Esq; afterwards Lord *Hollis*.
John Crew, Esq; afterwards Lord *Crew*.
Arthur Annesley, Esq; afterwards Earl of *Anglesea*.
Sir John Evelyn.
John Hampden, Esq;
John Pym, Esq;
Sir Benjamin Rudyard.

Sir

Sir Harbottle Grimstone.
 John Selden, Esq;
 Alexander Popham, Esq;
 William Pierpoint, Esq;
 Sir Richard Onslow.
 Sir John Holland.
 Sir Gilbert Gerrard.
 Sir William Brereton.
 Sir Thomas Barrington.
 Sir Robert Harley.
 Bulstrode Whitlocke, Esq; &c.

To say nothing of the great Lawyers, Maynard, Glyn, St. John, Wyld, Gentlemen of great Parts and Interest, says Whitlock. Are these, whether Leaders or Led, Knaves and Fools? Excellent Characteristicks! Every Man is to be known by them in the *History of the Rebellion*, as if he had sat for his Picture.

I can't imagine what his Lordship means by saying, *Soon after the King went to Scotland*, so many Members went into the Country, *that there were not above twenty Lords, nor much above a hundred Commoners, in both Houses*; by which means Advantage was given to those that remain'd, to act against the Church. I abridge the Passage, as in other Places, the Sentences being long to an Excess, and the Periods so very round, one cannot hold Breath thro' the Circle. How they acted against the Church, is shewn by their turning the Altar into a Communion Table; levelling the Chancels, which had been devoutly rais'd three or four Foot in some Churches to be nearer Heaven; forbidding Bowings, and other Acts of Impiety, by which the Peace of the Church was disturb'd; a Transcendent and Schismatical Presumption! How can we reconcile all this to Whitlock, who tells

us,

us, That upon the King's going, the Parliament Pag. 45. adjourn'd, and a Committee of 50 of the House of Commons was appointed to sit during the Recess. Instead of a Parliament of 20 Lords and 100 Commoners, here's only a Committee: And we hear no more of the two Houses till the latter End of October, when they were inform'd of the dreadful Massacre and Rebellion in Ireland. The Conspiracy was so deeply laid, that Dublin, and the whole Kingdom had been lost, had it not been discover'd a few Hours before by Owen O Conelly, a Servant of Sir John Clotworthy, that unknown Gentleman, as the Earl of Clarendon calls him.

I am confident there was not from the Beginning Hist. Re- of the Parliament, one orthodox or learned Man bel. 298. recommended by them to any Church in England. This too will be believ'd at Sight. That the great Selden, whom Foreigners stil'd the Dictator of Learning in England, would recommend none but Enthusiasts and Blockheads to Preferments in the Church. Selden's Character for Learning is so infinitely superior to the noble Historian's, that I am confident there is not a learned Man in the three Kingdoms, who will not, in this Case, prefer Selden's Judgment to his Lordship's: And every body knows, Mr. Selden did not only concern himself with Church Matters, but sat frequently in the Assembly of Divines. Some of these Dunces were,

Dr. Seth Ward, afterwards Bishop of Salisbury,
 Dr. John Gauden, afterwards Bishop of Worcester,
 Dr. John Wilkins, afterwards Bishop of Chester,
 Dr. Edw. Reynolds, afterwards Bishop of Norwich,
 Dr. John Conant,
 Dr. Cave, &c.

G

Who

Who were surely as Orthodox and as Learned before the Restoration, as after. I could name Hundreds of Ministers, whose Orthodoxy and Learning would not be disputed. What a hard Saying is this then, *I am confident not one?* Let the Reader turn over Dr. Calamy's Account of silenc'd Ministers, and make a Judgment afterwards of the Value of that Assertion, and this, *All the Pulpits were supply'd with their seditious and schismatical Preachers; such as,*

The most Reverend and Learned Dr. *Usher*,
Archbishop of *Armagh*, who was recommend-
ed by them to be Preacher at *Lincoln's-Inn*,
Whitl. p. 385.

The learned *Gataker*,
Dr. *Tuckney*,
The learned *Lightfoot*,
Dr. *Wincop*,
Dr. *Gouge*,
Dr. *Twisse*,

Dr. *Manton*,
Dr. *Bolton*,
The learned *Pool*,
Dr. *Jacomb*,
Dr. *Bates*, &c.

The latter, Dr. *Bates*, for Learning, Eloquence, Beauty of Thought, Style, and Life, is without Parallel, except we might compare with him his fast Friend the most Reverend Dr. *Tillotson*, Archbishop of *Canterbury*. When such Men as these are characteriz'd as *Seditious* and *Schismatical*, what must one think of those that are in the same Page, perhaps, term'd *Orthodox* and *Pious*. Besides the Deficiency here as to Truth, how deficient is it in Charity? How different from those truly orthodox Fathers and Pastors of our Church, who maintain'd a brotherly Temper with scrupulous Protestants, after the *Uniformity Act* had made their Religion what the Earl makes it, *Schism* and *Sedition*? I was infinitely

finely pleas'd with a Certificate sign'd as follows. *Calam.* Vol. II. p. 10.

John Tillotson,
Benjamin Whitcomb,
Edward Stillingfleet,

Matthew Pool,
Thomas Gouge.

The two latter are of his Lordship's Seditious and Schismaticals; the three former the most illustrious Doctors of our Church, join'd together in a religious and friendly Union: And by this Example we are caution'd how we give Credit to those Historians, who applaud the Bigots and Persecutors, as the only godly and prudent Governors and Teachers of the Establishment. I won't say that *Thunder and Lightning was made* Pag. 297. in the Parliament, is not good *English*, as to *Grammar*; but sure I am, it is not good *English* as to *Politicks*: As if all the Zeal and Complaint which were apply'd to the Redress of allow'd Grievances, were like those noxious Vapours, which ascending from the Bogs of the Earth, vent themselves in Lightning and Thunder. The Committee which sat during the Recess of the House of Commons, are pick'd out of the *Idiots*, who were led by the Nose; and the Knave that leads in the Chair is Mr. *Pym*, who did what he pleas'd, driving so furiously against the Church, that it gave Offence and Scandal, Vol. I. Part II. pag. 296. and yet Vol. I. Part I. Mr. *Pym* is spoken of as not one of those that drove furiously, *He was inclin'd to the Puritan Faction; yet not one of those furious Resolutions against the Church, as the other leading Members were.* Hist. Reb. again, p. 297. *The Lord Howard of Escrick, deliver'd himself up, Body and Soul, to be dispos'd of by the Party.* I hope this is not one of the

Graces of Elocution, for which this History is renown'd, nor one of those Sentiments which render it so impartial; whatever the following
 Pag. 297. is, *Mr. Hampden had Dexterity and Abilities equal to any Trust, Good or Bad*; to be as wise or as wicked a Man as was wanted. This is spoken of a Gentleman, the most esteem'd and belov'd of any Man of his Time. *Mr. Whitlock*, who was his Neighbour, and in the strictest Friendship with him, and whose Judgment and Sincerity have never yet been call'd in Question, writes thus of *Mr. Hampden*, "His Fortune
 Pag. 66. "was large, his natural Abilities great, and his "Affection to publick Liberty and Applause "in his Country, expos'd him to many Trou- "bles: He was a most active and leading Mem- "ber; he spoke rationally and subtly; was "well belov'd in his Country, where he had "great Interest; as also in the House of Com- "mons; and dy'd lamented." It will be fair enough for us to desire, that before we give Credit to any one of his Lordship's Characters, *Pro or Con*, this Matter be settled between the Lord Chancellor, and the Lord Commissioner.

One of the frankest Things in all the *History of the Rebellion*, is a Confession, that the Earl of *Montrose*, represented as the most noble and magnanimous Hero of his Time, did really propose to the King to assassinate the Marquis of *Hamilton*, and Earl of *Argyle*; but his Lordship rallies them for taking Care of themselves in *Scotland*; and the Parliament in *England*, for believing that such as would murder those Lords in *Scotland*, would make no Scruple of doing the same to themselves in *England*. If it is truly a Matter of Raillery, I am out in my Judgment; as I am, if the Parliament had not good

good Reason to suspect under-hand Dealings in the *Irish Rebellion*; though his Lordship intimates, that those that were most angry, were such as had lost Preferments. 'Twas insinuated, *That the Rebellion was fomented by the King*, Hist. Re- or, at least, the Queen, for the Advancement of bel. 301. Popery; and that the Rebels publish'd and declar'd, that they had the King's Authority for all they did: Which Calumny, though without the least Shadow or Colour of Truth, made more Impression, &c. To have said the least Truth, was not sufficient; therefore it is without the least Shadow: There's not a Mole nor Blemish about us. To say the King contriv'd it, is not true. I believe it to be false; but I do know also, that the Rebellion was so far fomented afterwards, that the Rebels were taken into his Service, and employ'd against his Protestant Subjects in *England*. I have very good Reasons why I don't call those Subjects *Rebels* and *Traitors*, as the Lord *Clarendon* does, and one is, that the Parliament which brought in King *Charles* the Second, justify'd the War undertaken by the Parliament to vindicate their just Liberties, and bring Delinquents to justice; of which too much cannot be said, it being so solemn a Declaration of the Rights of the People, to defend themselves, and the Laws, against arbitrary Government and Governors. Further, as to the least Shadow and Colour, see *Calamy's Life of Baxter*, pag. 43. "The *Irish* "declar'd they had the King's Commission for "what they did, and many, even at that Time, "weighing all Circumstances, believ'd as much; "while others represented it as a horribly un- "just and scandalous Aspersion upon his Ma- "jesty; but as Providence order'd it, a cer- tain

tain memorable Particularity help'd to set the Matter in a just Light. The Marquis of Antrim, who was a noted Man among the Irish Rebels, having had his Estate sequester'd, thought fit, upon the Restoration of King Charles the Second, to sue for the Restitution of it. The Duke of Ormond, and the Council, judg'd against him as one of the Rebels. Whereupon he brought his Cause over to the King, and affirm'd, That what he did, was by his Father's Consent and Authority; and the King referr'd it to some worthy Members of the Privy-Council, to examine what he had to shew. Upon Examination, they reported, *That they found he had the King's Consent, or Letter of Instructions for what he did, &c.* If there was such a Letter of Instructions, it might probably be for what Antrim should do after the King had made an Agreement with the Irish; for one cannot imagine his Majesty would commission the Papists in Ireland to destroy the Protestants, when all the rest of his Subjects, in England, Scotland, and Ireland, except a very small Number, were also Protestants: But Whitlock declares, the Rebels gave out, *the King was coming to assist them with an Army; and that they were authoriz'd by his Commission.* This is at least a Shadow for Peoples Jealousies, considering the Temper they were in before.

Pag. 46

Great Pains is taken to represent the Parliament's Remonstrance as horrid, full of notorious Falsties, insomuch, that Mr. Hyde, Mr. Palmer, and others, *protested against it.* There was not, in all those distracted Times, so unprecedented and irregular an Incident as that Protestation. The Lords have the Privilege to

enter

enter their Dissent; but it was never heard of in the House of Commons. *It is true,* says the Noble Historian, *Protestations had not been used in the House of Commons;* yet he himself was the very Man who began the Protest; the most disorderly Event among all those Disorders; yet how does his Lordship speak of the Wisdom, Discretion, and Sobriety of the Party? He adds, *Jeffery Palmer,* and many more, cry'd out, *They did protest.* Those many more were but two or three more, Whitl. p. 49. The Declamation against the Parliament's Remonstrance, is too long to bear Reflection. Without a clear Answer to any one Article of it, the Historian closes his Remarks with this polite Passage, in the Spirit of Sobriety. "Observe the ill Arts which these Men used to prevail upon the People in general; their absurd ridiculous Lying, to win the Affections, and corrupt the Understandings of the Weak." Mr. Hampden, Mr. Hollis, Mr. Selden, are here call'd Lyars, Blockheads, and Idiots. Here's Breeding and Truth! Can any thing be more just, more gallant? The Absurdity, the Ridiculum, appear no where in Story, not even in the Author's own Story; nor the Lye in any one Place, on the Side of those whom he deals with so cruelly. There is not an Instance like this, in all the Popish Histories written against Hugonots, Hereticks, &c. As for the Remonstrance, a faithful Account of it, will be given in a more faithful History of these Times, which will wipe away the Filth with which it is bespatter'd in the History of the Rebellion. It is granted, that the Tyranny and Superstition of the bigotted Clergy, were the true Causes of the Distempers in this Reign; yet so obstinate were their

Pag. 313.

G 4

Abettors

Abettors in pursuing the destructive Measures of that Administration, that they made the King say this in his Answer to the House of Commons; "For what concerns Church Government, and the removing unnecessary Ceremonies, they should have Satisfaction by calling a National Synod; but he was resolv'd to maintain the Doctrine and Discipline establish'd by Law, against the Irreverence of Schismatics and Separatists, wherewith of late this Kingdom and this City abounds."

I have very often taken Notice, that the Lord Clarendon places no body about the King but *wise Men*. 'Tis true, his Lordship has not been pleas'd to communicate to us one Act of their Wisdom in all his Voluminous History, unless their giving the King so good Counsel as is contain'd in this Answer, be allow'd to be one. His Majesty owns, as indeed the Truth was, the Kingdom and City abounded with Puritans; and the noble Historian owns, the whole Nation was in Flame, kindled by the Lyes and Follies of Mr. Hollis, Mr. Hampden, &c. Was not this a most proper Juncture for his Majesty, to threaten the Puritans with the Effects of his Power? What Sort of *wise Men* there were in those Days? Much like the *sober Men* his Lordship speaks of, who had all the Rakes and Ranters in England of their Party. This was a gracious Answer, says the Earl, full of Temper; as in this Expression, *I will maintain the Discipline of the Church against Schismatics and Separatists*; just as it had been maintain'd before, by Fines, Imprisonments, Stigmatizings, Mutilations, Whippings, Pillories, Gags, Confinements, Banishments, Suspensions, Excommunications, and Deprivations of learned and pious Ministers:

Pag. 325.

sters: They are the Words of the House of Commons, *Hist. Reb. p. 317.* tho' his Lordship assures us, there was not a learned and pious Man among them; witness Mr. Dod, whom a renown'd Archdeacon calls a *learned Decalogist, an exquisite Hebrician, a most pious and hospitable Man, highly valu'd by all good Men*; but the noble Historian, who does not allow one orthodox Divine to be a Puritan, no not Dr. Twisse, Chaplain to that most pious Princess the Queen of Bohemia, who the same famous Archdeacon calls a most profound Writer, the powerful Champion of the Calvinists, and the most acute and subtle Divine of the Age; yet the Lord Clarendon more than once or twice assures us, there was not one learned or wise Man among them. *The King's Party was made up of Men of the best Fortunes, and the best Reputation in their several Countries.* The Parliament Party had no Interest nor Reputation in their Countries. The Proof was, their being chosen Members, and making a great Majority in the House. The Names of those Members mention'd before, are another Proof that they had no Fortune, no Reputation; witness Mr. Hampden. *The King was attended to Whitehall by the whole City:* That very City which his Lordship stiles, the Sink of all the ill Humours in the Nation, and the King said, abounded with Presbyterians; that whole City accompany'd his Majesty to Whitehall on the 25th of November; and a few Days after came again to Whitehall in so terrible a Manner, as oblig'd his Majesty to remove to Hampton Court, the City being, as the Earl terms it, the Strong Hold of the Parliamentarians.

Pag. 323.

As

Pag. 360. As to the *Militia* Bill, the Earl is again as positive as a Man can be, that *there could be no Doubt that the Power of the Militia resided in the King, &c.* which being spoken by him in the House, we are inform'd it satisfy'd, till the Solicitor-General betray'd his Master, and spoke for the Bill; whereas it does not appear, that the House was in the least satisfy'd with Mr. Hyde's Speech; on the contrary, Mr. *Whitlock*, who had their Ear more than Mr. Hyde, made a long Speech to the contrary, *Mem. p. 54.* "Some worthy Gentlemen have declar'd their Opinions, that this Power of the Militia is *by Right and Law in the King only*; others affirm it *to be in the Parliament only*. I crave Pardon to differ from both those Opinions. I humbly apprehend, that this Power of the Militia is *neither in the King, &c.*" He then proves it thus, *It is not in the King only, because the Power of Money is not in the King, and without the Power of Money, the Power of the Militia is of little Force, &c.* His Lordship has this Argument of his about the Militia being in the King, again and again, and we must as often produce *Whitlock* against it.

Sir *William Balfour*, Governor of the Tower, had refus'd to let the Earl of *Strafford* escape, tho' 2000 Pounds were offer'd him, and remain'd true to the Interest of the Parliament. *Whitl. p. 44.* This Man being therefore turn'd out, the Earl tells us, he was put in, to the great and general Scandal and Offence of the English Nation. When a Person is advanc'd to any Post, it is for his extraordinary Merit always; when he is disgrac'd, it is always for his extraordinary Demerit. Every thing that is done is right. They are

are infallible. A Governor on whom the King can rely, must be placed in the Tower; therefore Colonel *Lunsford* is pitched upon. A Man of a most profligate Character, but it was not known, that he was such a Man, 'till two or three Days after, *Hist. Reb. p. 333.* upon the Parliament's Representation against him.

His Lordship does not give all Ministers the Title of Reverend: It is not the Reverend Mr. *Henry Burton*, B. D. but the Infamous Mr. *Henry Burton*, Batchelor of Divinity, *p. 434.* All the Learned and Orthodox Divines of England, were looked upon as scandalous Ministers: All, without Exception. This is so self-evident, that notwithstanding we have proved the contrary, it must be believed, the Tone of it is so decisive.

The Constable, who was a sober Man, and known to be an Enemy to Petitioners for Redress of Grievances, mingled himself among them, and being discovered, was kicked about as a Spy. Pag. 337.

The Parliament informs us, 'Twas a Meeting of godly well-affected Men. The Earl, on the contrary, assures us, There was not a sober Man amongst them, but a Constable; and the Southwark Constables are, indeed, particularly remarkable for Sobriety. Pag. ib.

There is a very serious Piece of History, *p. 339.* which, for the Importance of it, I will repeat; *The Wife of Captain Venn*, having received a Letter from her Husband, then in the Parliament House, bad, with great Industry, solicited many People to go down with their Arms to Westminster, upon a Day: She said, Her Husband had sent her Word, that in the House of Commons they were together by the Ears, and that

that the worser Party, was like to get the better of the good Party; and therefore her Husband desired his Friends to come with their Arms to Westminster, to help the good Party. The Parliament thought this so very idle a Story, that they would not hearken to it; for which his Lordship rebukes them, as in other Cases, and makes Mrs. Venn's Intrigues in the City, to be the Foundation on which they built the Bill to take away Bishops Votes.

In the Characters of the Lord Falkland, and Sir John Colepepyr, there is a very visible Affectation of saying what one pleases, or what pleases one. Of Mr. Hampden it was said, *He had a wonderful Art of governing and leading Men into his Principles and Inclinations; and of Sir John Colepepyr, No Man more gathered a general Concurrence to his Opinion, than he*: No, not Mr. Hampden, though Sir John had but an ordinary Presence, and Way of Speaking. These Gentlemen are ever uppermost, whatever Disadvantages they lie under.

The Sketch of these Two Characters, will serve to shew the Sameness of the Features, in many of them, though the different Air that is given them, makes a beautiful Variety.

How much the Lord Digby deserved the great Confidence the King had in him, as the Earl informs us, appears by his offering to murder the Five Members whom the King would have seiz'd in the House of Commons; to bring them away alive, or leave them dead in the Place, Hist. Reb. p. 360. When his Majesty entered the House, he was attended only by his usual Guard, and some few Gentlemen, who put themselves into their Company by the Way, p. 358. I should have suspected this History, if I had never read any other.

Those

Those few Gentlemen came accidentally on Purpose, to put themselves into their Company. His Majesty, in his Answer to the Parliament's Remonstrances, says, *His Attendants were no other-wise Armed, than, as Gentlemen, with Swords*: The House of Commons declare, as to those Swords, and those few Gentlemen, *A Multitude of 500 Armed Men, in a Warlike Manner, with Halberts, Swords, and Pistols, which they held cock'd at the Door*, p. 376. This Act carries with it so much Horror and Weakness, that it is surprizing it should come from the Counsels of the *Sagacious and Wise*. The Lord Clarendon excuses it by laying it at the Door of the Lord Digby, who was in greatest Trust with the King, after he had deserted the Country Interest in the House of Commons.

The Bishops Protestation against the Bill to take away their Votes, is also excused by loading Bishop Williams, with the Blame of it: And the House of Commons, with the Charge of Injustice, in accusing them of High Treason, for which the whole Twelve, who signed the Protest, were sent to Prison: *Hist. Reb. p. 353*. Which is not so, if Mr. Whitlock is not false: *Ten of them only were committed to the Tower; the other Two to the Black Rod*.

When the Committee of Parliament removed into the City, after the Violence offered, with respect to the Five Members, his Lordship tells us, *They found a Guard of substantial Citizens, in Arms to attend them*: And a few Pages forwarder, we are assured, that the Common Council itself was so far from being Men of Substance, that they were *upstart, factious, and indigent*, p. 374. We shall not be obliged to agree with the History, till the History agrees with itself.

The

The Earl finds Fault with Major General Skippon, who, he says, rose from a Centinel; that he was not a Man of Learning; he was altogether illiterate: but never the worse Soldier for that.

Pag. 380.

His Lordship speaking of Digby's and Lunsford's, Rendezvous at Kingston, writes thus, Several Witnesses affirmed, that some Officers, whereof the unbelov'd Lunsford was one, assembled together at Kingston upon Thames, near Hampton-Court, and that the Lord Digby came thither to them in a Coach, with Six Horses, from Hampton-Court, and conferred with them a long Time, and then returned. Whitlock tells the Matter otherwise.

Pag. 52.

"The Parliament were informed, that the Lord Digby, and Colonel Lunsford, were gathering some Troops of Horse at Kingston, and appeared in Arms there: Whereupon they order'd the Sheriffs and Justices of the Peace in all Counties, to suppress all unlawful Assemblies."

Ludlow, a Member of the same Parliament, goes further, *Those he had formerly entertained at Whitehall, soon repaired to Hampton-Court, and at Kingston upon Thames, appeared in a Military Posture, with the Lord Digby, and Colonel Lunsford, at the Head of them. The Two Houses hearing thereof, desired the King to disperse the said Troops.* Ludlow pretends, that those Military Men had been fed at Whitehall for some Time, and are the same with those whom the Lord Clarendon makes to join the King only by Accident. I am sensible, that General Ludlow is partial against the King, but not always so unconscionably as the Earl is partial for him; and I make no Use of Ludlow, but to confirm what is said by others.

The Business of the Five Members, seems to be the Turn to that fatal one of the War.

The

The People were generally exasperated beyond measure, and the Court was so apprehensive of it, that the King, with the Queen, Prince, and Duke of York, left London, and removed to Hampton-Court; and Whitlock is positive, that the Queen carried to Holland with her, Not only her own, and the King's Jewels, but the Jewels of the Crown, that with them a sufficient Party might be raised for the King. Which Two Acts, the deserting the Parliament, and London, and the raising Money for the raising a Party, together with Digby's unwarrantable Correspondence from Zealand, were the Motives to the Parliament, to prepare for their Defence.

Pag. 52.

Some Historians have laboured hard to load the Two Houses with the Guilt of the War; but it is very plain, that the King's Counsellors, and especially the Papists, and the Clergy, always inspir'd him with Sentiments inconsistent with the Preservation of Spiritual and Temporal Liberty, which the Parliament and People were resolved to have secured to them, and their Posterity. They were very importunate to have those evil Counsellors removed, and Persons employed, in whom both the King, and his Subjects, might put Confidence.

This Word is the Occasion of great Mirth in the History of the Rebellion. The Expression used of any Man they had a mind to remove, was, *They could not confide in him.* They had had no Reason to distrust any one. Sir Thomas Wentworth, and Mr. Noy, had been zealous for the Interest of the Country; so had Sir John Colepeper, and the Lord Falkland; nay, so had the Lord Digby, who, by quitting that Interest, had made himself the most universally odious of any

Pag. 373.

any

any Man in the Nation, as Lord Clarendon confesses; yet this most odious Man was in highest Confidence with the King, as his Lordship confesses also; which, methinks, is sufficient for the Parliament to pray his Majesty, not to employ those in whom the best *Englisshmen* and Protestants could not confide; for the Danger of State Apostates is not so much a Jest, as the Earl endeavours to make it.

Rushw. 1356. That great one, the Lord Digby himself, shews us in a Speech, what just Grounds the Parliament had, to be careful in whom they confided. "Mr. Noy, and Sir Thomas Wentworth were most keen and active Patriots, when the *Petition of Right* was in Agitation, and the latter of them, afterwards Earl of Strafford, the first Mover and Insister for this Clause, *That for the Comfort and Safety of his Subjects, his Majesty would be pleased to declare his Will and Pleasure, that all his Ministers should serve him according to the Laws and Statutes of this Realm.* And to whom now can all the Inundations upon our Liberties, under Pretence of Law, and the late Shipwreck of all our Property, be attributed, more than to Noy? And these, and all other Mischiefs, whereby this Monarchy hath been brought almost to the Brink of Destruction, so much to any, as to that Grand Apostate to the Commonwealth, the Earl of Strafford." Yet what strange Mortals were the Parliament, not to confide in every Man that was employed by the King, whose Ministers had brought his Kingdom to the Brink of Destruction, long before 'twas again brought to the same Brink, by passing the Bill for taking away the *Bishops*

Votes

Votes in Parliament? which Statute the Earl of Clarendon says, was *absolutely invalid and unlawful*, p. 430. though enacted by King, Lords, and Commons.

Let us stop here to reflect a little on the Consistency of these Gentlemen's Principles and Practices.

The Earl of Strafford was so jealous of King Charles the First's Government, that he desired the Parliament to insert a Clause in their Petition, to pray his Majesty to govern according to Law.

The Lord Digby declares, That the King's Ministers had almost destroyed the Constitution.

The Earl of Clarendon says, the Lord Strafford was the wisest Man in the Kingdom, and yet he was the chief Man that so destroyed it, according to the Lord Digby; who, according to the Earl of Clarendon, was a Man of extraordinary Parts, and universal Knowledge; and after he had betrayed the Country, he made secret Offers of his Service to the King, and such Discoveries as satisfied his Majesty, p. 343. This is what might justly be said, giving himself up Body and Soul.

Such Apostacy as this, cannot be pretended to be a Conversion from the Conviction of Judgment, but a Change for the gratifying Ambition and Avarice. We have seen who it was that betrayed the Parliament, but his Lordship does not tell us, who it was that betray'd the King: Whatever he did in the most private Manner, was quickly known; not so much by the Treachery of those about him, as by their Rashness; for these wise Men let every one see what they were driving at. The Earl of Newcastle was dispatched away to Hull. Did it need Conjuring, to suspect it was

H

to

to possess himself of that strong Hold, and the great Magazine there? The House of Lords mistrusting his Business, sent for him back to his Attendance in their House; and both Houses petitioned to have that Magazine removed to the *Tower of London*.

The King made no great Haste to answer their Petition; but he hastened to *Hull* in Person, and would have seized the Magazine, had not Sir *John Hotbam* seized it before him.

In this sad Condition was the King fallen in Ten Days, from a Height and Greatness that his Enemies feared, to such a Lowness, that his own Servants durst hardly avow the waiting on him, Hist. Reb. p. 389.

The Height of Greatness was, when his Majesty pass'd through the City, to the Affright of his Enemies, who shewed their Fear by this Account of it in the same History: "The rude People flock'd together, and cried out, *Privilege of Parliament, Privilege of Parliament*; some of them pressing very near his own Coach; and one calling out with a very loud Voice, *To your Tents, O Israel, &c.*" When the King is to be Great, then he is painted with all his Glories about him, to excite Terror; when they would move Pity, then the Picture is all Misery and Distress; the Circumstances still the same: For as low as it is said his Majesty is now fallen, his Enemies, by which is meant the Parliament, were in such a forlorn Condition themselves, that their Actions appeared to be the Attempts of Persons in Despair, and the Strugglings of Men at the last Gasps. These Matters agreeing so well together, make up the Probability which supports the History.

Page 390 furnishes us with several IF's of the like Value with the former. We remember how the King's Condition was: "IF the King had encouraged the Lords against the Commons: IF he had commanded the Judges to prosecute the Multitudes of Seditious, who drove him from *Whitehall*: IF he had seiz'd the Five Members first, the Spirit of both Houses might possibly have been dejected." All these IF's are on the Court Side: On the Country is another IF in the same Page; "IF the extraordinary Accident, *that of the Five Members*, had not happened, they were sinking under the Weight of the Expectation of those whom they had deluded." Those whom Mr. *Selden*, Sir *Harbottle Grimston*, Mr. *Crew*, Mr. *Pierpoint*, &c. had deceived with false Suggestions, and wicked Misrepresentations.

These are the crafty Knaves whom the History points at by *They* and *Them*, which, of itself, is sufficient to give one a just Conception of its Integrity and Impartiality. Four or Five Pages after, there are two IF's, one upon the Back of another, about the Five Members again. After the King was so fallen, as above mentioned, IF *Pag. 3; 6.* his Council had had the Courage to have insisted upon the Matter of Law; and IF the Lords would have countenanced them; the Parliament, who had before impeach'd the Attorney-General for his Matter of Law in the Case, might have been puzzled.

Again, IF *the Judges, &c.* I take Notice of these IF's, for that in the Assertions of them, there is no Room left to doubt the contrary; which would always appear, did the Facts and Circumstances fairly accompany these IF's, in the History we are upon; and for wise Men to lose

lose almost every Opportunity that was put into their Hands, of doing what was best, is a deplorable Instance of the Frailty of human Nature, or the Vanity of those that pretend to Wisdom, which never was of any Use to them.

With much-a-do the *Militia* Bill passed the Lords; a most unlawful Law, to which that most honourable House consented, out of fear of the Rabble; for through the whole Course of the Earl's History, whoever brought a Petition, which was not agreeable to the Court, were the *Mob*, the *Herd*, the *Rout*; and whoever petitioned to the Taste of the Ministers, were the *Gentlemen*, the *Substantial*, the *Sober Men*, &c.

We have remarked already, that his Lordship acknowledges there was no Man in *England* so universally hated, as the Lord *Digby*, who being accused of High Treason, for advising the King to open the War, by retiring to some fortified Place, the Earl writes of it thus; "Posterity
Pag. 488. " may look upon the severe Prosecution of a
" young Nobleman, of admirable Parts, and
" eminent Hopes, [*which tallies to a Nicety with*
" universally odious] in so implacable a Manner,
" as a most pertinent Instance of the Tyranny
" and Injustice of that Time, not possible to end
" but in so much Wickedness, &c."

Pag. 27. *Ludlow* informs us, *The Parliament* discovered
that the Lord *Digby* had, by a Letter, advised the
King to retire to some Place of Strength, and there
to declare against them, *Whitlock* p. 52. " *Digby*
" advised the King, to betake himself to some
" Place of Security, where he, and others, might
" safely resort to him, and he doubted not, but
" that he should do him acceptable Service.

This is the first known Counsel given the King, to declare War against the Parliament, which,

which, to common Sense only, is the most reasonable Advice an evil Counsellor can give, and yet to punish that Treason, is *Tyranny* and *Injustice*; but Posterity does not think as his Lordship prophesied they would; and the same Lord *Digby* lived long enough to accuse the same Earl of *Clarendon* of Injustice and Tyranny, before the House of Peers, *Anno Dom.* 1663.

Among other Acts of Injustice, of which the Earl accuses the Parliament, is their Opening a Letter inclos'd in the Lord *Digby's*, to Sir *Lewis Dives*, directed to the sacred Person of the Queen; by which is insinuated, that it was not only an unmannerly, but an impious Act; whereas there was no Impiety at all in *Digby's* Endeavours to involve the Nation in Blood. No Terms are so useful to the Gentlemen that write on the same Side with the Earl, as *under Pretence*; for it gives the Lye to every thing that is said and done, which is not to their liking. When the Dissenters met, after the *Uniformity Act*, to worship God, it was a seditious Conventicle, *under Pretence of Devotion*; and the Parliament being about to raise Money to pay the Soldiers employ'd against the Rebels in *Ireland*, *They fell to raising Money, under Pretence of the Relief of Ireland*, p. 435.

The Force of Expression in that History, is irresistible, as when the Earl says, what the Lord *Holland* told the Earl of *Essex* was impossible, *That they should be assassinated if they followed the King*, notwithstanding the Earl of *Montrose* had offered to assassinate the Marquiss of *Hamilton*, and Earl of *Argyle*; and the Lord *Digby* had offered to do the same by the Lord *Kimbolton*, and the Five Members, yet it was not possible for any-body so much as Pag. 475.
H 3 to

to think of such a Thing, with respect to those two Earls, *Effex* and *Holland*.

IF the King's Resolution to remove the former, had not been too obstinately pursued; IF the Staff had remained still in his Hands, it had been very difficult, IF not utterly impossible, for the Two Houses to have raised an Army, IF the Earl of *Effex* had not been
Pag. 476. the General.

The many Messages and Answers in the History, are introduced, in a manner, to prejudice the Reader, for or against the Contents of them, as it answers the End. They are tedious declamatory Pieces, written and answered without any Hopes of putting an End to the Dispute by them; so we shall leave them to the Leisure and Patience of the Reader.

The next remarkable Passage is, where his Lordship says of the Reverend Assembly of Divines, summoned by the Lords and Commons in a Synod, at *Westminster*. There were not above Twenty of the 120 Members, who
Pag. 530. were not declared and avowed Enemies to the Doctrine and Discipline of the Church of England; some of them infamous in their Lives and Conversations, and most of them of very mean Parts in Learning, if not of scandalous Ignorance, and of no other Reputation, than of Malice to the Church. If I had met with no other Passage but this, to prove that the Author of the History wrote unfairly, and partially, this alone would have convinced me, that there was little Conscience, or Care, taken in the forming of Characters. One might have defied the most malicious Observer, at that Time, to have named one only Man of publick Infamy, of Life and Conversation. These Divines, says Dr. Calamy,
were

were Men of eminent Learning and Godliness, Ministerial Abilities and Fidelity. Mi-Pag. 83.

He also takes particular Notice of the Earl of *Clarendon*'s unparallel'd Accusation, "A very heavy Charge upon such a Body of Men as they were; tho' my Lord *Clarendon* was undoubtedly a great Man, yet this Censure won't recommend his History to Posterity, who will be hard put to it, to find Men of more exemplary Piety, and more eminent ministerial Abilities, than those whom he endeavours at such a Rate to expose." This again is as Black to White. Infamous Lives, and scandalous Ignorance. The Doctor proceeds, "Who can give Credit to him as an Historian, that shall represent such Men as Dr. *Twisse*, Mr. *Gataker*, Bishop *Reynolds*, Dr. *Arrowsmith*, Dr. *Tuckney*, Dr. *Lightfoot*, as Men of mean Parts? Or who run down such Men as Dr. *Gouge*, Mr. *Oliver Bowles*, Mr. *Vines*, Mr. *Herle*, Mr. *Newcomen*, Mr. *Coleman*, as Persons of no Reputation, but for Malice to the Church? Let the World judge of the Historian by the Assembly, or of the Assembly by the Historian, I can't discern the least Reason to fear the Consequence, where Persons are not over-run with the grossest Prejudice and Partiality."

The Turn his Lordship gives to the King's Parties taking to Arms at *York*, before the Parliament had any Body of Forces together, is extremely pleasant. Beyond the Seas the Queen was as intent to do her Part, and to provide, that so good Company as she heard was daily gather'd together about the King, should not be dissolv'd for want of Weapons to defend one another, and therefore, with as much Secrecy as could be used
in

in those Cases, she pawn'd her own and the Crown Jewels in *Holland*, bought and shipp'd off Arms. The Management is very open. The Rupture was secretly resolv'd upon, why else are the Royal Treasures carry'd to *Holland* to purchase Ammunition and Arms? The King goes to the North to receive them, raises Men in *York*, and calls them his Guards; which the Parliament hearing, they muster'd the Train'd Bands of *London*, and din'd in the City; which his Lordship would have us take to be the Beginning of the War. The Truth is, whoever began the War, the Parliament resolv'd to have all Grievances, Spiritual and Temporal, redress'd, and Security against the like for the future. The Court was as resolute against both. Each Side was sharpen'd by Reproaches, and there were not Men of Temper, sufficient to be of Weight in more moderate Counsels.

There is much Affectation used to shew, how careful the King was not to employ Papists. The Oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy were administer'd to the new-raisd Men, that so he might be
 Pag. 534. free from the Scandal of entertaining Papists; such as Sir *Troilus Turberville*, Captain-Lieutenant of the King's Life-Guard; Sir *John Smith*, who rescu'd the King's Standard at *Edgehill*; Sir *Arthur Aston*, Governor of *Reading*; Sir *John Digby*, Sir *Thomas Tildesley*, the Earl of *Carnarvon*, the Lord *Dunbar*, the Lord *Langdale*, and many Hundreds more, in a List printed by the Papists in a Pamphlet, entitled, *The humble Apology of the English Catholics*; wherein it is said, pag. 3. *There never was a Papist that was not deem'd a Cavalier*: And it is said honestly too.

The Lord *Clarendon* enlarges much on the Inroachment of the Commons in the *Militia* Bill;

Bill; but does not tell us, that not only the Lord Keeper *Littleton* was most confident for the Legality of it, but divers other Lawyers, p. 56. His Lordship also sinks the solemn Protestations of the most powerful and active Members; that they had not the least Purpose or Intent of any War with the King, but to arm themselves for their necessary Defence, provok'd to it by the arming of the good Company at *York*; which the Parliament declar'd to be a Preparation for War against them, a Breach of the Trust repos'd in the King by his People, &c. Soon after this, the King sent forth Commissions of Array, and began in *Leicestershire*; of which the Parliament having Notice, they sent Officers to *Leicester*, to secure the Magazine; one of them was Captain *Ludlow*, Brother to the General, who tells us, Pag. 29. in his Memoirs, that the King, with all his Cavalry, consisting of about two thousand Horse, came to *Leicester*, and seiz'd the Magazine. The Parliament's Officers, not having above a hundred Men with them, set forward for *London*; but were pursu'd, taken, and thrown into *Tork Gaol*, where they were very cruelly treated; These were the first Prisoners taken on either Side: And the first Man that was kill'd, was by Sir *John Starwell's* Men in *Somersetshire*, at *Martials Elm*, pag. 37. where several of the County Militia, under the Parliament's Officers, were attack'd and routed by the King's Party. Thus the Prisoners and the Slain were first on the Side of the Parliament: Not that it is of so much Concern who were the Aggressors as to Blows, since both Sides had carry'd Matters so far, that they could not be terminated otherwise: But the Lord *Clarendon* does not allow the King to have taken one Step towards the War,

War, till the Queen sent him Arms for the good Company at *Tork*. For his leaving the Parliament, his countenancing *Digby*, and other such hopeful Counsellors, his Attempt against the House of Commons as to the Five Members, his obstinate Refusal to settle the *Militia* as the Parliament desir'd, and his inviolable Attachment to the persecuting Priesthood, were all healing Measures, tending to the Quiet of the Nation, had not the Factious, Seditious, Schismatical, &c. put another Construction upon them.

I should take Pleasure to see the following Passage reconcil'd to the whole Tenour of his Lordship's History, and the Title especially, Pag. 541. *The Grand Rebellion*. IF the King should commit such an Outrage as to levy War against his Parliament, to destroy the Religion, Laws, and Liberty of the Kingdom, good Men were persuaded, that such a Resistance might be made, as might preserve the whole. What Men, therefore, must those *Oxonians* be, who pass'd a Decree against Resistance in any Case whatsoever, *An. Dom. 1683*; not foreseeing, that the very same University should publish a History afterwards, wherein they would be prov'd to be bad Men, for decreeing against what good Men were persuaded was lawful. Again, He that would have argu'd against this Thesis, Resistance, besides the Impertinency of arguing against a Supposition that was not like to be real, &c. could never escape the Censure of promoting Tyranny and lawless Dominion. Every Word of which confounds those orthodox Tenets of Passive Obedience and Non-Resistance, which were so long inculcated at both the Universities, and all over the Kingdom, and is so strenuously asserted in the

the Preface and Dedications to the History of the Rebellion. If the Supposition of Tyranny and lawless Dominion was real, then, according to the Earl's Logick, the Resistance of the Parliament was no Rebellion, and the Argument against it is impertinent. What remains therefore but to prove that the Dominion was lawless? the Proofs of which are in many Pages of his Lordship's History, particularly in the very next Page, *The Crown extended its Authority and Power beyond its Bounds, to the Prejudice of the just Rights of the Subject*. I think the Argument is as Logical as may be: To extend Power beyond its Bounds, is to extend it beyond the Law, and consequently such Dominion is lawless; and to invade the just Rights of the Subject, is Tyranny: By which Logick, his Lordship makes the Promoters of the then Government, to be guilty alike of Treason and Impertinence; for surely there may be Treason against the Constitution, as well as against the Crown.

Though the Parliament had yet no real Apprehension that the King would be able, in the least Degree, to raise a Force against them. They had heard that the King had rais'd some Troops of Guards, and a Regiment in *Tork* and *Torkshire*: That he had sent his Commissions of Array into most Counties: Yet his Lordship assures us, they were not apprehensive of his raising the least Force against them. Indeed, had I liv'd at that Time, I should not have believ'd, that after so many Years Misgovernment, which had been fully laid open in Remonstrances, Declarations, &c. that the People who had been clamouring about Grievances, would have arm'd themselves against the Redressing of them; and one

one might have hoped, that the Ministers of that Misgovernment would have been deliver'd up to Justice, and the Aggriev'd have been righted, without an Appeal to the Sword: But Ludlow lets us into the Reason of the sudden Change in many Mens Minds, who deserted the Parliament, and adher'd to the King; "When I first took Arms under the Parliament in Defence of the Rights and Liberties of my Country, I did not think that a Work so good and so necessary, would have been attended with so great Difficulties; but finding by Experience the strong Combination of Interests at home and abroad against them, the close Conjunction of the Popish and Prelatical Parties in Opposition to them, what vast Numbers depended upon the King for Preferments or Subsistence, how many of the Nobility and Gentry were contented to serve his arbitrary Designs, if they might have Leave to insult over such as were of a lower Order; and, adding to all this, the great Corruption of the Nation, I became convinc'd of my former Error, and began now more to wonder, that they found so many Friends, &c." The Simplicity of Argument and Style here is wonderfully convincing, and captivates one's Judgment much more, than the Luxuriancy of Expression which adorns the History of the Rebellion; as natural and artless Beauty is more charming than Paint and Patches.

Contrary to what General Ludlow writes, as above, the Earl of Clarendon declares, that the Nobility and Gentry did not adhere to the King out of Hopes of Honours and Preferments, of insulting their Inferiors, but out of scrupulous Consciences, which would not suffer them to defend

defend their just Rights, that had been so frequently invaded, as we are told by the same Noble Historian,

It is said, p. 615. *That the Parliament were pleas'd to call, but never to prove the evil Counsellors.* There could not be a better Proof of them, than their inserting the Names of the Guilty to be excepted out of a General Pardon, in the Directions they gave their General the Earl of Essex; Richmond, Cumberland, Newcastle, Rivers, Carnarvon, Newark, Falkland, Nicholas Porter, and Hyde. The last Name may satisfy us, why it is that the Parliament are so handsomely used through the History of the Rebellion, and that the Author would never forgive them, because they would not let him be forgiven. Historians should be very delicate and cautious of giving Characters of Persons who have given them Offence; for what prejudic'd Men say, and sure that Man must needs be prejudic'd who was forbidden Pardon, lies always under Suspicion; and the noble Author has not with any Caution conceal'd the Prejudice.

The Parliament well knew there was no Commission or Warrant to raise Soldiers. Whitl. p. 58. bel. 634. *The King raiseth and arms a Regiment in Yorkshire for the Prince, &c.* His Lordship informs us, p. 533. that when Major-General Skippon muster'd the Train Bands before the Parliament, the latter had engag'd the very Body of the City on their Side, and were most sumptuously treated at the City Charge; but p. 634. contradicts this, and assures us, *their Strength consisted in the Rabble only.* I do not mention it as being surpriz'd at Contradiction; the Histories I have lately read most, consist of little else.

The

Pag. 641. The Earl wonders mightily at the Parliament's Ignorance in asserting, that the King could not legally sell the Crown Jewels, to levy War against his People. After receiving the Supplies of Money, Arms, and Ammunition from *Holland*; after the Raising the Forces in *Yorkshire*, after the Commissions of Array in all Parts of *England*, and other such Preparatives, *It was impatiently wonder'd at, that his Majesty made no Preparations at all.* Hist. Reb. p. 651. Ludlow may be thought too partial; his Words are, "The Nineteen Propositions were deliver'd to the King by the Commissioners of the Parliament, but without Success, he being resolv'd to steer another Course, presuming he might obtain as good Terms as these, if reduc'd to the last Extremity; and that if his Arms succeeded, according to his Hopes, his Will might pass for a Law, pursuant to the Opinion of those who thought no Way so likely to render his Authority absolute, as the making of a War upon his People: And now the Fire began to break out in the West, Sir *John Stawel*, and others, drawing a Party together in *Somersetshire* for the King, where Capt. *Preston*, and others, oppos'd them, and about *Martial's Elm* on *Posden Hill*, some of those who declar'd for the Parliament were kill'd; whereupon the Parliament order'd some Horse to be rais'd, &c." One cannot say that what his Lordship writes of a Paper sign'd by the Peers at *Tork*, reflecting on the Parliament at *London*, is over-partial, because he is pleas'd to own, that those Peers were asham'd of it, or sorry for it, the next Day, and said, if the King publish'd it, they would disavow it: If such Declarations had been made at other Times, it would

Pag. 37.

would have prevented the publishing of many Voluminous Papers from that Quarter.

I have often hinted, that these Gentlemen will never suffer any one of their Party to come off dishonourably, tho' upon ever so slight Occasion. Captain *Straughan*, who brought the Supplies from *Holland*, being pursu'd by two or three Men of War of the *English* Fleet, and running his Ship ashore in a shallow Place, to prevent further Pursuit, the Earl tells us, *the Captain never thought of saving his Ship*: He resolv'd to run her ashore whether he had been pursu'd or not.

And now the King thought it Time to execute a Resolution he had long intended, which many wonder'd he neglected so long, to take the Admiralty into his own Hands: When the Parliament had resolv'd the Earl of *Warwick* should take it into his Hands, and that Resolution was executed accordingly: But then the Question was, who should be the King's Admiral, Sir *John Pennington*, or Sir *Robert Mansell*: There are good Reasons for Sir *John*, and good Reasons for Sir *Robert*; but the Parliament's stronger Reasons for the Lord *Warwick* prevailing, that Parcel of History is very unedifying. *The Earl of Warwick got in the Seamen to him, put by Sir John Pennington, and took a Ship of Ammunition coming from Holland*; probably with as much Intention to be taken, as *Straughan's* Ship to be run ashore. The Business of the Fleet goes not off without certain IF's; as, IF the first Letter had been sent, IF Sir *John Pennington* had been present, IF Captain *Carteret* had kept out Captain *Batten*; *It was generally believ'd he would have prevail'd against whatsoever the Earl of Warwick could have done*; Who, by the way, had done so much, that he was Master of the Fleet; and

Pag. 630.

and have preserv'd a major Part for the King. *It was generally believ'd: By whom, or for what, we know not: When it was most true, as his Lordship says a few Lines after, A greater or more general Defection of any one Order of Men was never known, than that at this Time of the Seamen: And yet the wise Men averr'd, with great Confidence, the King was a Gainer by the Loss of his Fleet, &c.*

Pag. 63. The Earl tells us, that upon hearing the Parliament's last Petition before the Rupture, the Lords and Counsellors at York, who are the only wise Men in the History, *thought the King had not enough resent'd the Insolence of the Lords and Commons assembled in Parliament, in the Answer he gave them; which, in effect, was a Denial of every thing they ask'd of him: And how insolent that Petition was, we see in Whitl.*

Pag. 58. "To disband his Forces, recal his Commissions of Array, dismiss his Guards, and return to his Parliament." *All which he refus'd: Yet the wise Men, so his Lordship calls them, p. 693, generally thought he did not appear sensible enough of the Provocations. These Men of Wisdom were the evil Counsellors, whom the Parliament call'd Delinquents, and requested that they might be punish'd. The Earl himself was one of those Delinquents; and to desire that he might be punish'd, was the utmost Insolence, and highest Provocation; so much did these Gentlemen prefer their own Safety to their Masters.*

Speaking of the King's early Attempt on the Magazine at Leicester, we are told, *His Majesty had neither Soldier, Cannon, nor Powder to effect it, p. 697. Ludlow, as we have hinted before, assures us, p. 29. The King, with all his Cavalry, consisting of about 2000 Horse, arriv'd at Leicester: Where,*

Where the Earl tells us were only 25 of the Parliament's Men, under inferior Officers. Such is the Respect the Gentlemen of the Parliament Party meet with. Mr. Ludlow, Son of Sir Henry Ludlow, a Gentleman whose Quality and Fortune were equal at least, if not superior, to Mr. Hyde's, a Gentleman of the same County with himself, which was represented in Parliament by Sir Henry his Father, and the General his Brother, was one of those inferior Men. *Ludlow, p. 29. Another Oddity in this Incident is, Dr. Bastwick's* Pag. 699. *pretending to be a Doctor of Physick; whereas he was graduated in a Foreign University! Here I can't help observing a very ridiculous Piece of Vanity in certain of our Countrymen, who, as they do not allow any foreign Protestants to be Orthodox or Catholick, confining those Titles to our own Establishment, so they have a hearty Contempt for foreign Universities, allowing no Scholars, or rather, no Degrees of Scholarship to be regular, but what are taken in one of our two famous Universities. To take a Degree at Utrecht, Leyden, Leipsick, &c. has no more Credit with them, than the Doctorship of Quacks, Ship Surgeons, or Apothecaries: Glasgow and Edinburgh are on the same Foot with them; and so every University, where nothing is to be got but Learning. In our Academies there are good Fellowships, Benefices, and comfortable Emoluments: They are Nurseries for the National Church, without whose Pale those certain Men think, I will not say there is no Salvation, but no Learning, Manners, nor Merit.*

Alderman Pennington being chosen Lord Mayor in the Room of Sir Richard Gournay, displac'd by the Parliament, 'tis said he was made Mayor by Noise and Clamour, and not elected. There seldom

Pag. 62.

dom is an Election, but the Majority of Voices at *Guidball*, which makes the Mayor, are sufficiently heard there; and the Disposition the Citizens were in to chuse *Pennington*, appears by what *Whitlock* says, The Lord Mayor *Pennington* was so forward, that what was desir'd was resolv'd by the City.

I was very much surpriz'd to see the Earl of *Clarendon* in an Astonishment, that the Parliament, after both Sides had appeal'd to the Sword, should take upon them what Power they could for their own Defence. His Lordship is mightily concern'd, that they should offer to seize Persons and Things by their own Authority, after they had rais'd an Army by it; as if the Possession of the Civil Sword was not a necessary Consequence of the Military. The Earl would have had them continue the Regal Authority in the Hands of those the King had commission'd, when they were entering upon a War to have them remov'd.

Then the Officers of the Parliament are reproach'd with the *Lowness and Decayedness* of their Fortunes. I will name some of the Colonels:

The Earl of *Essex*,
The Lord *Fielding*,
The Earl of *Stamford*,
The Lord *Hastings*,
The Lord *Roberts*,
The Lord *Warton*,
The Lord *Kimbolton*,
The Lord *Brook*,
The Lord *St. John*,
The Earl of *Peterborough*,
The Earl of *Bedford*,
The Lord *Willoughby*,
The Lord *Rochford*,

Colonel *Hollis*,
Colonel *Hampden*,
Colonel *Goodwyn*,
Sir *Henry Cholmley*,
The Lord *Fairfax*,
Sir *Philip Stapylton*,
Sir *Mathew Boynton*,
Sir *Thomas Middleton*,
Sir *William Brereton*,
Colonel *Ludlow*,
Colonel *Popham*,
Sir *Edward Harley*,
Sir *Ed. Hungerford*, &c.
Here

Here are the most noble and opulent Families in *England*. True it is, several Persons of inferior Order had Commands in the Parliament Army, whose common Soldiers were of the middling Sort of People at first, who fought not for Pay so much as for Liberty; and it was never objected to them, that they were the Scoundrel Part of the Kingdom, till they had made themselves Masters of it. I never heard it pretended, that Mr. *Hyde* himself was a Man of a great Estate. General *Ludlow* and Colonel *Popham*, his Countrymen, who had much larger Inheritances, might, methinks, have given a Check to such Reflections as he often makes on the Poverty of the Parliament Officers; for which there was no Ground in Fact, and much less in good Sense and good Manners. If one was to reckon up all the *Lunsford's*, the *Ogle's*, the *Smith's*, and others, in the King's Army, who had superior Commands, one might weigh Colonel *Popham* and Colonel *Ludlow* against a Hundred of them: But such Remarks as these are so puerile and poor, that I wonder the noble Historian should set me such an Example.

Would one think that these Words of the Parliament was a proclaiming of War? *When the Causes which mov'd us to provide for the Defence of his Majesty, the Kingdom, and Parliament, shall be taken away, we shall very willingly and chearfully forbear any further Preparations.* This his Lordship calls denouncing of War. The Causes were greater and greater every Day. Pag. 700.

There's surely no need of making Remarks on the Reproaching the Parliament with irregular Actions after War was denounc'd; in which nothing is regular, but good Fighting and good Discipline; yet there's abundance of it in the History of the

Rebellion; and his Lordship is in a Sort of Amazement, that those who had denounc'd War, should dare to take Money to maintain it, or make Laws to strengthen themselves, without Leave of the Enemy: In a Word, that those who had taken up the Military Sword, should not send the Civil Sword after the King to York.

Which Army was to be led against their lawful Sovereign. This is the Consistency of these Gentlemen; they say, there were Invasions on the Rights and Liberties of the People, that the Constitution was at the Brink of Destruction, that Resistance to preserve it was lawful; but when the resisting Army is upon the March, then have a Care; you lead it against your lawful Sovereign. Such is their Logick!

Pag. 703. *They entertain'd all Strangers*, as well Papists as others, in their Service. The Parliament sent for Papists from *Flanders*; which will certainly be believ'd as soon as some other Things on the same Foot of Probability. Most Part of those with the King, were drawn to him by Impulsion of Conscience; as,

The Lord Goring,
The Lord Wilmot,
Sir Richard Greenville,
Sir Arthur Aston,
Sir Marmaduke Langdale,
The Lord Digby,

Mr. Endymion Porter,
Sir William Vavasor.

And who were severe
Observers of the Law,
p. 704.

C H A P.



C H A P. III.

Containing Remarks on the History of
the Rebellion. Vol. II. Part. I.



THE Action, when we come to the Civil War, will have the same Cast as the Argument, and both Fabricks have the same solid Foundation. In Action, the King's Officers will always have the best of it, either with, or without an IF; they will be the Hero's, the Men of Honour, the bold Britons, &c. As in Argument, the King's Counsellors had the Wisdom, Integrity, Sobriety, Law, Virtue, and Merit.

No sooner had the King set up his Standard at Nottingham, than his Army is muster'd, consisting of but 300 Foot, got together by the active Sir John Digby, and 800 Horse under Prince Rupert at Leicester; whereas the Parliament's Forces in that Neighbourhood only, are magnify'd to 1600 Horse and 5000 Foot. Ludlow assures us, the King's Cavalry in that Country was 2000, and the Parliament's Forces at that Time but one Company of Foot: If so, the King's Horse must be mightily diminish'd in a few Days, and the Parliament's Troops as much encreas'd. The Reason of magnifying the one, and lessening the other,

Vol. II.
Pag. 1.

other, is to shew what Poltrons the Parliamentarians were, in not daring to attack the King with so vast Advantage of Numbers: And here the I.F. is against his Majesty, I.F. they had advanc'd, *They might at least have dispers'd the King's few Troops.* The Truth is, there were no 1600 Horse, nor no 5000 Foot to do it; and, on the contrary, tho' the King was very much balk'd in his Expectations, as to the Resort to him at Nottingham, yet he had Forces sufficient, with a Train of Artillery, to maintain his Ground against any Opposition he could then meet with.

Pag. 5.

Being to go into the West, in the Progress of his Lordship's History, we find Sir John Stawel at the Head of a Party for the King, whose Lieutenant was the Marquis of Hertford, who, I.F. he had possess'd himself of Bristol, as he was advis'd, might have prov'd very prosperous: Instead of which he remov'd to Wells; whence, I.F. he would have fall'y'd, he might have driven the Roundheads out of the Country: To prove it 'tis added, "For Mr. Digby, Sir John Stawel, and his Sons, with some Volunteer Gentlemen, being in the whole not above 80 Horse, and 14 Dragoons, charg'd a greater Body of Horse, and above 600 Foot of the REBELS, led by a Member of the House of Commons, and, without the Loss of one Man, kill'd seven in the Place, hurt very many, took their Chief Officers, and as many more Prisoners as they would, and so routed the whole Body, that six Men kept not together, they having all thrown down their Arms." Sir John Stawel's Account of this Matter is thus in his own Memoirs, "At Wells the Marquis of Hertford receiv'd Advice, that Mr. Pyne, Capt. Sandys, Mr. Preston, and others, had rais'd the Militia for the Parliament, and
" were

" were marching towards Wells. Thus we see, that instead of Impatience to charge, Sir John Stawel was like to be charg'd himself: Upon which Sir John Paulet, Sir John Stawel, Mr. Digby, Sir Francis Hawley, Mr. Windham, were order'd with a Party of Horse to move towards them; and, not far from thence, had Intelligence, that Mr. Pyne, &c. were advancing towards Martials Elm. Sir John Stawel and his Troops being come in View of them, stopp'd, one would have thought by the Earl's History, that they leap'd upon them like so many Lyons, and consulted what to do. It was agreed, that some Gentlemen, before they charg'd so furiously, should go to Mr. Pyne, and desire him to come to a Parly, to prevent charging: Upon this Sir John Stawel, and three other Commissioners of Array, went to treat; and Sir John told him, that my Lord Marquis was at Wells, whither they might send to him to know his Pleasure, and, in the mean time, march to Somerton, without being charg'd. The Account is written by Sir John Stawel himself, who promis'd upon Honour free Passage to such as would go. Mr. Pyne reply'd, he would acquaint the Gentlemen that were with him, whom the Lord Clarendon calls the Rebellious Herd; which being done, Mr. Emanuel Sandys brought this Answer, That the Forces with them were resolv'd to march that Night to Glastonbury. Accordingly Mr. Pyne, &c. ascended the Hill, and the Royalists being in the Way, a Skirmish ensu'd, in which one Osborn was kill'd on the Militia Side; but those Men that were so forward to advance, upon the first Fire of Sir John Stawel's Horse, took to their Heels, and Capt. Preston and Mr. Sandys were taken Prisoners." Whoever will seriously

compare this History with the Earl's, will perceive that the Turn given to it, alters the very Nature of the Fact; and by the Account which follows, written by General Fairfax's Chaplain, we shall also perceive, what Reason the Earl had to rejoice so much in his Victory. "The Marquis of Hertford, and others, having got together 500 excellent Horse, very well Arm'd, were joined by Sir Ralph Hopton, Sir John Stawel, and others, at Wells; from whence they marched to Shepton Mallet, after the Skirmish at Martials Elm, and rode through the Town up to Mendip. Immediately the Well-affected sent Advice of it to Colonel Popham, Sir John Horner, and especially to John Ash, Esq; to provide for their Defence; but the Cavaliers having rode a Mile or two upon the Hill, returned to the Town, and making a Search for Arms and Ammunition, took what they could, and here began to rob and spoil. Hence they returned to Wells, and Sir John Horner raised his Tenants and Neighbours, to the Number of 1000, armed them, and marched to Colonel Alexander Popham's, who went with him to Cheuton, whither came the Trained Bands of the Eastern Division of the County, especially Colonel Popham's Regiment, doubled by Volunteers, thither Repaired to them. Sir Edward Hungerford, who lent 200 Arms of his own, Mr. Coles, Mr. Ash, Mr. Harbyn, Mr. Hippesley, Deputy Lieutenants, and near 4000 Men in all (the Earl makes them 12,000) very zealous to oppose the Lord Hertford, and the Array Men. They marched over Mendip, and pitched within Sight of Wells. The People being, with Difficulty, kept from falling upon the Town, Sir John Horner, with his younger Son,

Colonel

"Colonel Popham, with his Brother, afterwards Admiral Popham, with many other Gentlemen, lay in the open Field upon the Furze Bushes, the good old Knight saying, *His Furze Bush was the best Bed he ever lay on.* The Lord Marquess having Intelligence of the Preparations to break in upon him, obtained a Treaty, but the Country Commanders, impatient of Delay, requir'd a quick Issue. *How wild does this Historian write?* The Fallers-on, were the Lord Marquis, Sir Ralph Hopton, Sir John Stawel, Sir Francis Hawley, &c. The Marquis then desired but an Hour or two, in which Time, he, and his Lords, Knights, and Esquires, quitted the Town, riding out at the Backway, and the Roundheads entered it without Bloodshed: But being provoked by the Cathedral Men, they had some Knocks. Thus was the Ruin of this fair and flourishing County prevented."

As a considerable Part of this History is taken out of private Memoirs, we cannot think the enlarging upon it impertinent, especially since it teaches us to be cautious how we take his Lordship's History to be infallible. The Marquis, in Contempt of Horner's Men, stayed at Wells Two Days, according to the Earl; and according to our History, they would not let him stay Two Hours. He retired in the Face of this rebellious Herd, says his Lordship: They rode out at the back Way, says our Historian. Here too are mustered on the King's Side, all the Gentlemen of eminent Quality and Fortune, Pag. 3. of Somersetshire, except Popham and Horner. He does not except Sir Thomas Wroth, Mr. Palmer, Mr. Coles, Mr. Harbyn, Mr. Hippesley, Mr. Blague, Men eminent for Name and Estate, great

great Patriots, whose Example, no doubt, has added very much to the Merit of their Posterity. I might mention Mr. *Harrington*, Colonel *Pyne*; and if I added Sir *William Portman*, and Mr. *Sandford*, then High Sheriff of the County, I might prove their Party, by their seizing the Arms in *Brown's*, *Skinner's*, *Tucker's*, and other Houses in *Taunton*, for the Use of the Parliament. I might name many more, as Mr. *Basset*, Mr. *Barret*, &c. but I have named enough to shew the Gentlemen of the County of *Somerset*, did not all march off with the Marquis of *Hertford*, and Sir *Ralph Hopton*, and 400 Foot, which is called his great Spirited little Army: Running away, has no Effect on the Greatness of their Spirits.

His Lordship attributes his Majesty's being against sending a Message for a Treaty, to his too Philosophical Courage and Magnanimity, which might as well have been attributed to his just Apprehension, that the Parliament would not treat on the Terms which he meant to grant. Accordingly, when his Messengers, Sir *John Colepepyr*, and Sir *William Udal*, Two Members of Parliament, came to *London*, they would not admit them to sit in their House.

The King had done whatsoever was in his Power, or could be expected from him, for the Prevention of a Civil War. This Tone decides the Matter so peremptorily, that a Man must be out of his Wits, to think the King could, if he pleased, take down his Standard, and recal his Proclamations, declaring the Parliament Traitors. He either had done it, or he could not do it, according to the History of the Rebellion; for he had done whatever he could do, to prevent the Civil War.

The

The Earl is in a Transport upon his Majesty's Speech and Protestation, at the Head of his Army: In which he tells his Followers, *They shall meet with no Enemies, but Traytors, most of them Brownists, Anabaptists, and Atheists*: Most of the Assembly of Divines were *Atheists, Anabaptists, and Brownists*, and so were the Presbyterians, for of such did the Officers and Soldiers of the Parliament Army, for the most Part, consist at that Time.

Thus they took Prisoner the Earl of Berkshire, who never appeared in the least Action, in the King's Service, p. 21. which is fully confirmed by what we read in *Whitlock*, p. 59. Intelligence being given to the House of Commons, that the Earl of Berkshire, and divers Gentlemen of principal Quality in Oxfordshire, intended to put in Execution the King's Commission of Array: They commanded *Whitlock* to use his utmost Endeavours to prevent the same; who, with a Body of Militia Troops, march'd to *Wattleton*, where the Commissioners sat, and hearing of his Approach, retir'd to Sir *Robert Dormer's* House, whither *Whitlock* pursued them, and beleagu'd the House, whence they within fir'd upon his Men, but finding the Parliament's Forces about to Storm, they yielded upon Quarter; most of the Array Men were got away, only the Earl of Berkshire, who never appeared in the least Action in the King's Service, and Two or Three more, were taken and conveyed to *London*.

The whole Representation in the History of the Rebellion, tends to shew, that not only the Members of the Two Houses of Parliament, were Knaves and Fools, but that the Men they employ'd, were Thieves, Villains, and Assassins.

fallins. In some Places, however, their Soldiers are represented as *Psalm-Singers, Praying-Men, Sermon-Hearers*, and the like, which is well known to be their true Character: In others, they are Robbers and Plunderers, *who took the Goods of all Malignants, as lawful Prize, so that it was not safe for any Lords or Gentlemen, whom they call'd Cavaliers, to live at their*

Page 21. Houses; and those Lords and Gentlemen whom they sent Prisoners to London, were thrust into the Holds of Ships, and kept under Hatches, till many lost their Lives. If one could believe no other Part of the History, this would, in the highest Degree, be worthy of our Belief.

Page 22. Again, "So the common People in *Essex*, on a sudden, beset the House of Sir *John Lucas*, "one of the best Gentlemen of that County, "seized him, used him with all possible Indignities, threatned to murder him, carried him "before the Mayor of *Colchester*, who sent "him to the common Gaol."

Page 59. I beg the Reader to be a little curious about this Passage, because it is a Flower, when compared with *Whitlock*. The common People were Sir *Thomas Barrington*, and Sir *Harbottle Grimston*, the same who was Speaker of that House of Commons, who brought in the King; and they were Two of the best Gentlemen of that County. *Lucas* was proclaimed a Traytor, for his malignant Practices against the Parliament, and his Lordship is in a strange Emotion, that they should offer to secure the Person of one of their most inveterate Enemies.

I cannot imagine what the Presbyterian Soldiers did to the Countess *Rivers*, unless they ravish'd her; *They used great Insolence to her Person*. They must beat her, or call her *Papist*; for

for 'tis said, they plundered her House to the Value of 40,000*l.* for no other Reason in the World, but because she was a Roman; not because she had espoused the Quarrel against the Parliament, and given Supplies to their Enemies; No, for nothing but because she was a *Papist*, which is, indeed, no Crime through the whole History.

In the next Place, we are told, That the Presbyterian Clergy were guilty of Profaneness and Blasphemy in their Sermons, insomuch that such pious Men, as the King's Party were, could not hear them without trembling. The Horror of it is, indeed, amazing: As upon this Text, *Arise therefore, and be doing*. The Preacher said, The People must bring their Purfes, as well as their Prayers; and their Hands, as well as their Hearts: Was there ever such Blasphemy and Profaneness heard of! Again, *Consecrate yourselves this Day to the Lord*: From whence the Preacher incited the Auditory to prosecute the Enemies of the Parliament to the utmost, and spare neither Brother nor Cousin; horrid Profaneness and Blasphemy! But what was most blasphemous and profane, was from this Text; *Take away the Wicked from the King*. The Preacher, says the Historian, made it no less a Case of Conscience to remove the evil Counsellors from the King, than to perform any Christian Duty. I wonder how any thing so wicked could enter into a Man's Head! It gives one an Ague to repeat it only; and his Lordship adds, It would fill a Volume to insert all the impious Madness of this Kind. These Preachers could not say such Words, without roaring and foaming at the Mouth. His Lordship talks of one Volume, but *John White*, Esq; a Lawyer,

Pag. 21.

as well as Mr. *Hyde*, and Chairman of a Committee, filled Two Volumes with an Account of the Whoredoms, Drunkenness, Swearing, Sabbath-breaking, and other Peccadillos of 200 Priests, ejected by that Committee, all Preachers on the same Side his Lordship writes; of whom, besides what has been said elsewhere, Dr. *Calamy* writes, "The concealing their Crimes, the most abominable Particularities, had certainly been a much greater Service to Religion, than their Publication, which was but making Sport for Atheists, Papists, and Profane." Carefully too is concealed the *impious Madness* of those Clergymen, who, by preaching up Tyranny and Persecution, had contracted those ill Humours in the Nation, from whence rose those Tumours, which ended in the terrible Rupture of Civil War.

These Gentlemen are very sensible, that the bigotted Priesthood of *Laudæan* Principles, were the main Movers of that War, and to turn off the Reproach of it, charge the *Puritan* Clergy with it.

After the Rupture, zealous Preachers did, no doubt, animate their Auditories to exert themselves in the Cause, as well on the Side of the Parliament, as on the King's Side, of whom there were not wanting some who prayed for the Success of the bloody *Irish* Assassins, then in Rebellion, as is said elsewhere, and in *Whitl.* p. 72.

I have read above a hundred Histories, in my Time, but I never met with one, where every Fact was misrepresented, and the Reverse of Things told with the same Sobriety, as their Contrary the Truth. I must confess I cannot, without a real Trembling, reflect on that Animadversion in the History, where the Sermons of the Presbyterian

Presbyterian Ministers, are intimated to be *the Sin against the Holy Ghost*. God forgive the Reverend Doctors of *Christ-Church*, who suffered that to pass the Press, which they might have expung'd as easily, as other Passages that were not to their *Gout*.

As to his Lordship's Story of the *Athenian Nun*, out of *Plutarch*, I shall say the less to it, because in the very same Page, there is a Text of Scripture to vindicate the Religious Cursing, which the *Greek Nun* refused; as, *Curse ye Meroz*: and we have a set Day for such Cursing in our Establishment; but I will remind what a *Frenchman* and a Papist writes on the Subject of Liberty, which the Learned and Orthodox Divines mentioned in the History, would have preached out of the Nation. 'Tis said by *Boileau*, in his Answer to *Perrault*, *Almost all the famous Orators that ever flourished, lived and died with popular Government*. The Earl of *Clarendon* does not allow one Orator to have spoken or written in *England*, from his going into *Exile*, to his Return. *Indeed, can there be any thing which raises the Souls of great Men, more than Liberty?* Yes, according to the Earl, abject Obedience to Arbitrary Power, which is termed Loyalty. Honour acquir'd by Flattery, and Riches by Oppression, will raise the Soul of a great Man, more than Liberty and just Property. *Is there any thing that can more powerfully excite and awaken in us that Sentiment of Nature, which provokes us to Emulation, and the glorious Desire of seeing ourselves advanced above others?* Yes, Zeal for the Church, the Hopes of Court Favour, and the like, awaken and excite much better, according to all the Sentiments in the History of the *Rebellion*.

The

The first Action of War related in that History, is the Defeat of Colonel *Sandys*, by Prince *Rupert*, near *Worcester*; that in *Somersetshire*, by Mr. *Sandys*, being a Skirmish only. In this Action, and in all others, I do not except one, there is Misrepresentation to the Credit of the King's, and the Discredit of the Parliament's Forces. *The Prince being seconded by his Handful of Men*, p. 25. *Ludlow* p. 44. *Ours consisted of about 1000 Horse, and Dragoons, the Enemy being more in Number.* I shall content myself with some few Instances of this Difference in History, from the Earl's; for it would fill Volumes, should I go about to insert all as I come to every Event. *Ludlow*, Our Men not well understanding the Difference between *Wheeling* about, and *Shifting* for themselves, *ran away*. *Hist. Reb. They were the most pick'd and choice Men.*

The Two Universities sent very near all their Plate to the King, p. 31. That of Oxford, had not at first obliged themselves to such a Contribution; for when the Lord *Say*, and Mr. *Whitlock* went thither a few Days before, the Mayor, Aldermen, Vice-Chancellor, Heads of Houses, and Proctors, waited upon them, and protested all of them, *their Duty to the Parliament, and engaged themselves not to act any thing against them.* This exemplary Sincerity, deserves a Place in the Eulogies of the *History of the Rebellion*.

IF the Papists and others, Friends to the King, had but lent him at the Beginning of the War, a Fifth Part of what they sacrificed to his Enemies, his Majesty had, by God's Blessing, been able to have destroyed the two Houses of Lords and Commons, and all the Men in *England* that adhered to them, *Hist. Reb. p. 34.* I have frequently hinted, that I am forced sometimes to abridge the Quotations

out

out of that History. There are so many Words to a Sentence, which, with the Remarks upon them, would swell my Work to as great a Bulk as the History itself; but I take Care to be most scrupulously exact, in preserving the Sense of the Original, when I curtail the Text.

Where-ever the King came, he summoned the principal Gentlemen, and the most substantial Inhabitants: An Air which is also preserved from one End of the History, to the other. Now nothing is better known, than that the Nine in Ten of the Merchants, Clothiers, and middling Yeomanry, sided all along with the Parliament, and whether the most substantial Inhabitants are to be found among them, I leave to the Reader. It is very true, a major Part of the Nobility, and, perhaps, the Gentry, did side with the King; *Ludlow* tells us why, as is said before: *The Nobility and Gentry were contented to serve his Arbitrary Designs, if they might have Leave to insult over such as were of a lower Order.* These, and the bigotted Clergy, led away the most stupid and profligate of the Rabble, who were, in many Places, the Majority, corrupted both in Principles and Morals; but his Lordship saying, they were the Judicious, and the Substantial, I shall say no more at this Time.

How the Earl takes Measure of Peoples Parts and Fortunes, will further be seen by what follows; *The Earl of Essex sent a Gentleman* (Fleet-wood, a Trooper in his Guards.) This Trooper is the famous Lieutenant General *Fleetwood*, the Son of Sir *Miles Fleetwood*; and *Ludlow* mentions some other Troopers, who rode in the same Troop.

Richard Fiennes, Esq; Son to the Lord *Say*.
Colonel *Rich.*

K

General

General Ludlow.
Major General Harrison.
Sir Matthew Thomlinson.
Colonel Twisleton.
Colonel Boswell.
Major Whitby, &c.

By the Earl's mustering of them, one would take them to be such Lifeguard Men as were wont to serve for Faggots at the Musters in St. James's, and Hyde Parks. The Life-Guard to the King, on the contrary, consisted of such wealthy Persons, that his Lordship computes the Estates of that single Troop, p. 41. equal, at least, to the Estates of all the House of Lords, and House of Commons, assembled in Parliament at Westminster.

I shall balk every one that expects Reflections on such Assertions as that. *It is a very modest Computation, to use the Words of the History.* Thus, as we have had many Proofs of the Wisdom, Substantiality, and the like, of the Party, we have now a most infallible one of their Modesty.

Page. 41.

The Parliament entertained all the Papists in their Army, that they could get: Can any thing be more fair and credible? They had very many Popish Officers and Soldiers: More fair, and more credible! especially from the Answer inserted a few Lines after, from the Parliament to their Committee in Suffolk, who desired to know, whether they should accept of Loans from Papists. If they offer any considerable Sum, whereby it might be conceiv'd to proceed from a real Affection to the Parliament, and not out of Policy, to bring themselves within their Protection, and so to excuse their Delinquency, it should be accepted of. This is the more fair, because if any thing could render what

is

is said of the Parliament's employing Popish Officers and Soldiers incredible, it is this very Quotation; it not being likely that they should refuse them Protection for their Money, and pay them, and protect them too, for their Service.

In the Account of *Edgehill* Fight, besides the Lessening the King's Army, and Encreasing the Parliament's, to give a Colour to the Advantage obtained by the latter, it is said, *Yet the King's keeping the Field*, p. 52. though just before, we were told, *The King caused his Cannon, that were nearest the Enemy, to be drawn off; which was, sure, with a Design to follow them, but not presently. He spent the whole Night in the Field.* I never met with any thing so plainly opposite to the Fact. Ludlow, who was in the Battle, says, *The Night after, our Army Quarter'd upon the same Ground the Enemy fought on the Day before*, p. 50. Speaking of the King's March, we are inform'd Hist. Re. *The Country was very kind to the Soldiers, and the Soldiers just and regardful to the Country.* Whitl. bel. 40. p. 62. *The King's Soldiers committed strange Insolencies and Violences upon the Country.* I think, what follows, is almost as contrary to other Histories, as that about keeping the Field: It concerns the Lord St. John, who died of his Wounds received in that Battle, on the Parliament Side. He died without any other Signs of Repentance, than these canting Words, which have not a Note of Cant in them, but have a much greater Foible, as will appear presently: *I did not intend to be against the King, but wish him all Happiness*, p. 54. See Ludlow p. 51. The Lord St. John was mortally wounded, and declared at his Death, a full Satisfaction and Chearfulness, to lay down his Life in so good a Cause. The Earl seems astonished, that he had not a Priest, a Confession, and Absolution. I confess, this is a tiresome Work, and requires

prodigious Patience, as well as Labour: We do not find one Incident shewn in its natural Light. *The Armies look'd upon one another the whole Day, and it being observed, that the Enemy had drawn off his Carriages, the King directed all his Army to retire into their old Quarters; Which, Ludlow tells us, the Parliament slept upon the Night before. And again, p. 52. of his Memoirs, Our Army was now refreshed, and Masters of the Field, the Enemy marching off as fast as they could. However, the Lord Clarendon proves, they were victorious, and that the Earl of Essex marched to Warwick, out of Weakness and Inability to pursue the King: Instead of which, Ludlow, who was in Essex's Army, wonders why they did not pursue him; and Whitlock, who writes with equal Judgment and Sobriety, says, Essex was dissuaded from it by Colonel Dalbier, and others, but probably, had he made a New Assault upon the King's disorder'd Army, it might have gone far to have put an Issue to the Business. He does not make Use of his I F's, without giving a good Reason, which is, the Parliament's Army had received great Reinforcements, and the King's were tyr'd. The noble Historian informs us, the Horror and Consternation the Parliament were in, upon News of Essex's Defeat, paid a full Penance for the Hopes and Insolence of three Months before. They dispatched a Messenger to the King, before they were resolv'd what to say. They were frighted out of their little Wits. Whitlock tells us, They knew well what they had to say: An Address for Peace, and a safe Conduct for their Commissioners to treat.*

Pag. 60.

Pag. 62. His Lordship informs us, the King struck Sir John Evelyn out of the safe Conduct, he having been excepted out of one of his Pardons; but he does not tell us, as in Whitlock, The Parliament voted it a Refusal of Treaty, and acquainted the City with

it, as having address'd to treat, purely to please the Citizens, and not out of Consternation, as we read in the *History of the Rebellion*.

Sir John Evelyn's Name being left out of the Commission, the King appointed Windsor for the Place of Treaty, and both Parties seem'd enough inclin'd to Peace: But, in the mean time, the King, as Ludlow represents it, taking Advantage of the Security the Parliament were in, on account of the Treaty, attack'd a small Body of their Forces at Brentford, with the greatest Part of his Army. Sir Peter Killegrew brought the King's Answer, that he desired nothing more than

Pag. 53.

Peace, and would leave no Means unattempted for the effecting thereof; upon which, the Parliament thought themselves secure: But the very next Day, the King, taking the Advantage of a very thick Mist, march'd his Army within Half a Mile of Brentford, before he was discovered; the Two Houses having sent Orders to their Officers, not to exercise any Act of Hostility, Hist. Reb. p. 75. In this, and the foregoing Page, the I F's crowd upon us unmercifully: I F the King had retir'd: I F he had drawn farther from London to Reading: I F he had drawn nearer to London: And at last, I have heard many knowing Men, and some who were then in the City Regiments, say, That I F the King had advanced, and charged that Massive Body, 24,000 Men with about 12,000, it had presently given Way. This I F is the most extraordinary in the Book, there being not the least Likelihood of its succeeding. On the contrary, Whitlock writes, I F the Parliament's Army, almost two to one, had fallen upon the King's, in Probability, they had wholly broken them; but God had a further Controversy yet against them. Ludlow brings Men of Judgment, against the Earl's Men of Knowledge: In the Opinion of

Pag. 54.

many

many judicious Persons, we lost, as at Edgehill before, a favourable Opportunity of engaging the Enemy with great Advantage, our Numbers exceeding theirs, and their Reputation being utterly lost: Nay, the Earl himself calls the King's Victorious Army, p. 76. *Harraſs'd, Weather-beaten, Half-starv'd Troops, Five times less in Number, than the Parliament Army*, p. 75. Yet knowing Men told his Lordship, *IF the King had charged that Massive Body*, they would have run from him, as a Hare from a Hound. I take Notice, that when *Whitlock*, or other sober Writers, make use of an *IF*, or an *Had*, they back it with some solid Argument: But it is not so in the History of the Rebellion; the *IF's* are all Arbitrary, and generally quite contrary, not only to what did happen, but what might reasonably have happened. I must own, 'tis to me a Way of Arguing, which has so much Poverty in it, that I wonder so rich an Imagination as his Lordship's, could ever have fallen upon it. But the History wanted even such Supports, to be carried off as was intended.

I think nothing is better known, than that the *Presbyterians* do not lay so great Stress on a Priest's Absolution, as even to desire any: Yet the Earl tells us, *Dr. Downing*, and *Mr. Martial*, *Absolved those miserable Wretches*, the Parliament's Soldiers, *who were foreſworn*, p. 81. It is very pleasant to observe, that not only Things and Persons, but even Places too, are the better, or the worse, according to whose Hands they are in; and the King not being able to make himself Master of *Windsor Castle*, when he had master'd all the rest of the County of *Berks*, the Earl calls it, *The barren Division of Berkshire*: But *Marlborough*, being about to be taken by the King's Forces, *lies in the Heart of a rich County*; in the Heart of 40 or 50 Miles Heaths and Downs.

Having

Having acquainted ourselves with the Military Actions of the Parliament, let us inquire into the Civil; and his Lordship's Character of them is, *Their Partiality and Injustice was so notorious, that there was no Rule or Measure of Right in any Matter depending before them*. They did not one Thing but what was irregular and unjust: Not One Thing! Is it not amazing that such Words should be so close at the Heels of the Words *Unjust and Partial*? We will look into another Character of them by one of their Members, "They subdu'd their Enemies in *England*, *Ludlow*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*, establish'd the Liberty *Page 453*. of the People, reduc'd the Kingdom of *Portugal* to such Terms as they thought fit to grant, maintain'd a War against the *Dutch* with that Conduct and Success, that it seem'd now drawing to a happy Conclusion, recover'd our Reputation at Sea, secur'd our Trade, and provided a powerful Fleet for the Service of the Nation; and, however the Malice of their Enemies may endeavour to deprive them of the Glory which they justly deserve, yet it will appear, to unprejudic'd Posterity, that they were a disinterested and impartial Parliament." *The Lord Clarendon says*, They observ'd no Rule or Measure of Right in any Matter. *Again out of Ludlow*, "Tho' they had the Sovereign Power of the Three Nations in their Hands for the Space of ten or twelve Years, they did not in all that Time give away amongst themselves so much as their Forces spent in three Months, no not so much as they spent in one, &c." By the Earl's History they appear to be a Company of crafty ravenous Fellows, who, under Pretence of Liberty, enslav'd their Fellow Subjects, and plunder'd them under Pretence of Property.

K 4

The

The King had appointed some of those Prisoners who were taken at Edgehill, to be indicted of High Treason. A very wise and gracious Act! The Parliament had at least as many Prisoners to make Reprizals; but these Gentlemen had ever, and probably ever will, have a strange Itch of Hanging. Whatever dreadful Business they have done in the World, has always been by the Gallows. There is a good State Barometer in pag. 94.

Ill Humours,	Grievances.
Discontent,	Complaints.
Sedition,	Remonstrances.
Rebellion,	Civil War.

The Things are the very same; but the Words have different Uses in History, according to the Difference of Principle in the Historian.

I never doubted but the *Laudæans* hated the *French*, who were of the Reform'd Religion, as much as they did the *Puritans* at home. The Earl does not spare them, pag. 95. *The Crown of England kept too much Correspondence with the Protestants in France.* I suppose the lending of Men of War to reduce them, is what is meant here. Again, *They of the Church of England*, who persecuted the Puritans, had undoubtedly not the least Thoughts of making Alterations in it, towards the countenancing Popery. The erecting of Altars, Bowings, Tapers, &c. did not in the least countenance Popery; nor what follows out of *Rusbw.* pag. 381. Part II. a Charge against *Laud* and his Brethren, "That in the Epistle the Sunday before Easter, they had put out IN, and made it AT the Name of *Jesus* every Knee shall bow; an Alteration directly against an Act of Parliament."

The

The Noble Historian says, *Without Doubt they had not the least Thought to alter.* Again out of *Rusbw.* "They chang'd two Places in the Prayers for the Fifth of November, which are order'd to be read by Act of Parliament, thus, Root out the Babylonish and Antichristian Sect, which say of Jerusalem, &c. was chang'd into, Root out that Babylonish and Antichristian Sect, of them, which say, &c. And Cut off those Workers of Iniquity, whose Religion is Rebellion, was chang'd into, Cut off those Workers of Iniquity, who turn Religion into Rebellion." But the worst Innovation of all, and which throws the inveterate Spirit of that odious Party against the Protestant Religion, was the striking the Names of the Queen of *Bohemia*, and her Princely Children, out of the Prayers, as in *Rusbw.* p. 381. Part II. His present Majesty's Royal Grandmother, who was a zealous Professor of the true Protestant Religion, was never in their Favour. The Puritans labour'd hard to have Relief sent that Royal Family; but their desiring it was not likely to forward the Matter. I do not remark on any of the King's Declarations, for that, tho' they seem to be of the same Stile with the History, I do not find they had any Effect, and the Parliament's were generally well adapted to serve the present Purpose.

Petitions being prepar'd in London of several Tenours, that from his Lordship's Side comes again not only from the most wealthy, but the most substantial, pag. 108. The noble Historian is not at all sparing of Words. But the Petition which was presented by the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Commons of the City of London, was procur'd by the Parliament underhand, p. *ibid.* The Earl mentions a Speech of Mr. *Pym's* to the City, in which are some Expressions that so fully answer

answer every Word his Lordship says of the Injustice of the Parliament, and there are many Thousands of those Words, that I am astonish'd to find them in the History: *The same Law which enables the two Houses of Parliament to raise Forces, to maintain and defend the Safety of Religion and of the Kingdom, did likewise enable them to require Contributions whereby those Forces might be maintain'd; or else it were a vain Power to raise Forces, if they had not a Power likewise to maintain them in that Service for which they were rais'd.* All the Declamation in the King's Declarations, and the Earl's History, against the Parliament's raising Money, is render'd vain by that fair Reasoning of Pym's. The Parliament must either disband their Army, or raise Money to pay them. If to raise Forces against Tyranny be lawful, as his Lordship allows, to raise Money to pay them must be as lawful.

What a fine Turn is given to the Earl of Northumberland's splendid Way of Living, who being one of the Commissioners sent to Oxford, with Propositions to the King, carry'd with him, as we read in *Whitlock*, "His own Plate, his Household Stuff and Accommodations, even to Wine and Provisions, which were brought from London to Oxford, where the Commissioners liv'd in as much Height and Nobleness, as the Earl of Northumberland used to do, and that is scarce exceeded by any Subject. The King himself did them the Honour sometimes to accept of Part of their Wine and Provision, &c." This Splendor of that most noble Earl is represented as a Trick of those Tricksters the Parliament. *The common People of London were persuaded, that there was so great Scarcity of Victuals and Provisions at Oxford, and in all the King's Quarters, that they*

Pag. 65.

Pag. 118.

*they were not without Danger of starving; and that if all other Ways fail'd, that alone would, in a short Time, bring the King to them. To make good this Report, Provisions of all Kinds, even to Bread, were sent in Waggon, and on Horses, from London to Oxford for the Supply of the Commissioners; when, without Doubt, they found as great Plenty of all Things where they came, as they had left behind them. So small a Thing as Gammon of Bacon, and a Bottle of Wine, was hardly worth turning into an Artifice of State; and his Majesty was so far from thinking the Parliament design'd to do him Mischief by it, that he took Part with the Commissioners. In the Report of this Treaty, his Lordship conceals the Terms to which the King had agreed at Night, and refus'd to agree to the next Morning, *Whitl.* pag. 65; but says, he graciously dismiss'd them, with an Answer which made the Breach wider than 'twas before.*

We have more than once taken Notice of the Earl's Care to vindicate King Charles from the Charge of entertaining Popish Officers; and it is said again, pag. 153. *In all his Army he had but one General Officer of the contrary Religion, Sir Arthur Aston, whom the Papists notwithstanding would not acknowledge for a Papist. Major-General Webb is put down in the Popish List, pag. 13, where we find Sir Arthur own'd by the Papists in a particular Manner, pag. 9. Sir Henry Gage, another Papist, was Governor of Oxford, and slain at Cutham Bridge; but that List containing many hundred Popish Officers, printed in red Letter, to shew they sacrificed their Blood in so glorious a Cause, it is absurd to pretend to prove the contrary to the History of Rebellion by Particulars.*

The

The Committee neither offer'd to answer his Majesty's Reasons, nor to oppose other Reasons to weigh against them, Hist. Reb. pag. 221. The very contrary of this too is in Whitlock, pag. 65. They press'd his Majesty with their Reasons and best Arguments they could use, to grant their Desire. The King said, I am satisfy'd, and promise to give you my Answer to Morrow, according to your Desire; but gave his Answer otherwise, as is before related.

I am at a Loss to guess at the Reason of this Difference in his Lordship's History from
Pag. 225. that of others, *The Committee was with his Majesty in Oxford just Twenty Days; whereas the Treaty continu'd just Forty-two Days, as in Whitlock from March the 4th, to the 15th of April.*

Pag. 65. His Lordship proceeds, Many were of Opinion, that IF the King would have made the Earl of Northumberland Admiral, &c. it would have so divided the Houses, that they could not have carry'd on the War. *Whitlock observes, that this great Earl supported very well the Dignity of his Commission. The Earl of Northumberland demean'd himself with much Courage and Wisdom. His so courageously vindicating the Authority that sent him, was no great Sign of his Disposition to sacrifice the Cause he was engag'd in, to the Office of Admiral.*

Reading being about to be taken by the Earl of Essex, we will see what Preparations the noble Historian makes for it, that it might bring no Disgrace to the Party. The Earl of Essex had never so gallant an Army, p. 221: We remember 'twas said, He had five times the Number of the King's Army at Turnbam Green. The Fortifications of Reading were very mean,
and

and the King never intended to keep it; but Colonel Fielding was very near being hang'd for delivering it up. *That most gallant Army which we heard of just now, a few Lines after are new Levies, whom the Garrison of Reading look'd on with Courage and Contempt enough, considering they were to hold out the Town but a Fortnight.*

The Lord Clarendon again laments the dif-
mal Inequality of the Contention, in which always
some Earl, or Persons of Great Honour or Fortune, fell on the King's Side, when, after the most
signal Victory over the other Side, there was seldom lost a Man of any known Family. This is
said on Occasion of the Earl of Denbigh's being
kill'd on the King's Side; and to prove the Inequality of this Contention, his Son, the then Earl
of Denbigh, was in the Parliament Army.

To extenuate the Loss of Reading, it is again
said, *The Town was never intended to be kept,*
pag. 242. and again, *The King lost a Town he never meant to keep; nay, the Parliament did not know what to do with it when they had it; but IF the Earl of Essex had besieg'd Oxford, his Lordship verily persuades himself, the Town had been yielded to him, pag. 243. One may suppose the Reason he did not besiege it, was the Parliament's not knowing what to do with the large Town he had already taken for them.*

In the Year 1643, the Skirmishers on the King's Side gain'd several Advantages by Incursions and Surprise, and it does so spirit the Historians who record their Actions, that one can't stir any where in their Quarters, but we meet with a victorious Army. The Loss of Reading makes them bolder and bolder; like
Anteus they all along gain Strength by being
slung

flung to the Earth. His Majesty, in a Message to the Parliament, graciously assures them, that Victory itself has not made him alter his Dispositions to Peace; and the House of Commons, to shew how much they were afraid of such Victory, sent the Messenger to Jail, pag. 246. Mr. *Tomans* of *Bristol* being hang'd for a Conspiracy to betray that City to Prince *Rupert*, he is a Man of great Reputation; and his Fellow Conspirator, *George Boucher*, a Citizen of principal Account: So *Cballoner*, a Citizen of *London*, found guilty of a Plot to betray that City, also is a Man of good Wealth and Credit. 'Tis very odd, that the King's Party should want Money so much, and yet have all the Men of Credit and Wealth on their Side; and 'tis as odd, that they should be so baffled and beaten, when they had with them all the Men of Valour and Wisdom. I should not have so often observ'd this, but that the Earl has it over and over in almost every Page of his History.

On the Death of the very eminent Mr. *Hampden*, who was kill'd in *Chalgrave* Field in *Bucks*, his Lordship writes very seriously; *Many Men observ'd, that the Field in which the late Skirmish was, and upon which Mr. Hampden receiv'd his Death's Wound, was the same Place in which he had first executed the Ordinance of the Militia; so that he paid the Multitude in that Place where he committed the Transgression.* I could easily resolve his Death into a Judgment, if I were persuaded, that the Resistance of the *Parliamentarians* was the Sin against the Holy Ghost, as is insinuated in the History of the Rebellion; but Resistance being allow'd in certain Cases by the Historian, I can no more think it a Judgment upon Mr. *Hampden*, than *Cballoner's* being hang'd before the Door of the

the House where he carry'd on his Plot, was a Judgment upon him. If such an Author as *Nelson* or *L'Estrange*, or other the like History Writers, had made such an Insinuation, it had been equal to their Genius and Honesty. Indeed it is very great Pity, that a good Word should have been said of Mr. *Hampden* in the History of the Rebellion, since the Author intended to send him out of the World by the Sword of *Divine Vengeance*: His Character had too much of true Virtue in it, to have a Place where so many other Characters, quite contrary to his, are set off, as the only truly Virtuous. *His Reputation for Honesty was universal; of rare Affability and Temper: He always left the Character of an ingenuous conscientious Person: He was indeed a very wise Man, and of great Parts; supreme Governor over all his Passions and Affections; of personal Courage equal to his best Parts: All which, and a great deal more, tallies exactly with the Close, He had a Head to contrive, and a Tongue to persuade, and a Hand to execute any MISCHIEF.*

In the Year 1643, as is hinted before, the King's Skirmishers had several Advantages of the Parliament's; and it is pleasant to observe, how the Spirits of these Gentlemen were set afloat by those petty Successes; insomuch, that they could hardly be sunk by so many general Routings afterwards. At *Roundway Down* Fight, it is said, Sir *William Waller* lost an excellent Train of Artillery, pag. 291. *Whitlock* numbers them, *Four Brass Guns*, pag. 67. Again in the *Hist. Reb.* Sir *William Waller* fled into *Bristol*, where the *Garrison* were even ready to expire at his Entry into the Town; which he did not enter, but posted up to *London*, according to *Whitlock*, pag. 67. There is nothing more common with the

the Historians I am looking over, than when they have had the better in some Rencounter, to render the Enemy ridiculous as well as cowardly, and to make them brag and bounce, as the Cavaliers were wont to do upon all Occasions. After the Action at *Landstown*, where the Earl assures us, the King's Party obtain'd a Victory; and *Ludlow* says, ours obtain'd the Victory, pag. 62. we are told, Sir *William Waller* wrote in his Warrants, "That he had routed the Marquis's Army, and was in Pursuit of them, and therefore commanded the Justices of the Peace, and Constables, to give Order for the Apprehension of them. One is ready to burst one's Sides with Laughing at the reading of it. We have mention'd what the Lord *Clarendon* says of *Waller's* flying to *Bristol* with a small Train; *Ludlow*, who then resided within two or three Miles of *London Road*, tells us, *He march'd to London with what Horse he had left, where no Means were omitted to recruit him*, pag. 63.

The Excuse for the horrid Slaughter and dreadful Waste committed by Prince *Rupert's* Soldiers, after the Surrender of *Bristol* by the Parliament's, and contrary to Articles, is, that the Garrison of *Reading* had been ill us'd by the Earl of *Essex's* Men; and that Garrison was now in the Prince's Army, and had some Colour of Right to plunder, and murder the Citizens of *Bristol*, because some Soldiers of their Party were plunder'd at *Reading*, and much Wealth, no Doubt, was taken from them. But if that is no Excuse, then the Plunderers were the Parliament's Soldiers, who had lifted in the King's Service; and if that neither will not do, then the plunder'd were the Rebels, and could not be too ill us'd. The Truth is, they were rich, and, as his Lordship says, almost totally plunder'd. The last Colour of Right for

for it is the best, They were Rebels, and could not be us'd too ill, pag. 297.

This glorious Day was a Day of Triumph; 'twas now a full Tide of Prosperity, and the Enemy full of Horror and Consternation; tho' the Sun-shine of Prosperity was somewhat clouded.

The Siege of *Gloucester* by the King did not promise much, even from the Looks of two Citizens, sent out with their Answer to the King's Summons; *Lean, pale, sharp, and bad Visages: indeed Faces so strange and unusual, and in a Garb and Posture, that at once made the most severe Countenances merry, and the most chearful Hearts sad.* This Sort of History is well worth the Imitation of all Writers, who would be thought judicious and sincere. Then their Voices too were *pert, shrill, and undismay'd*: They came from the Godly City of *Gloucester*. The Word Godly has given Occasion to more Wit than any one other Term in the Histories. The two Men who brought the Citizens Answer to the King's Summons, were Serjeant-Major *Pudsey*, and another not named. Their Answer in these Words, "We the Inhabitants, Magistrates, Officers, and Soldiers within this Garrison of *Gloucester*, unto his Majesty's gracious Meslage, return this humble Answer, That we do keep this City, according to our Oath and Allegiance, to and for the Use of his Majesty and Royal Posterity; and do accordingly conceive ourselves wholly bound to obey the Commands of his Majesty, signify'd by both Houses of Parliament; and are resolv'd, by God's Help, to keep the City accordingly." Not a Word of the Godly City of *Gloucester*, which is brought in purely for the Jest's Sake; and the Dress and the Phiz is more like *James Naylor* than Major *Pudsey*. His Lordship almost

Vol. II.
Part I.

almost every-where calls the Cavaliers the wise Men and sober ; but the Puritans were the Godly Party, and a common Jest to those very Enemies, who every where ran before them in the winding up of this Military Argument.

Orders were dispatch'd to Sir William Vavasor, who commanded all the Forces in South Wales. We remember there was no General Officer in the King's Army a Papist, but Sir Arthur Aston, yet this Sir William Vavasor commanded all the Forces in South Wales, and was a Papist; not to mention the Lord Herbert, a Jesuited Papist, p. 153, who commanded him.

The two Houses were struck to the Heart; the Loss of Bristol was a Sentence of Death; the Earl of Essex's Forces were so dismay'd, he could not endure they should be call'd an Army; so that the War seem'd at an End. How this agrees with Ludlow's, and other Accounts! The Citizens being then very affectionate to the Publick, soon recruited the Earl of Essex, and drew forth so many of the Trained Bands and Auxiliary Regiments, as made up a gallant Army; considering the War was at an End, only what was doing before Gloucester: For Essex neglected recruiting his Forces, and providing a Strength to defend the Parliament, who lay under the Sentence of Death.

The Earls of Clare, Bedford, and Holland making so short Stay at Oxford, after they left the Parliament at London, one cannot be much entertain'd with an Account of the Disputes about their Reception; but where so many wise Men were at the Helm, nothing could pass in Council, but what was weigh'd as in Gold Scales, that the Ballance might be always equal.

In our Times we have heard as much of the Contempt of Oaths, as could be known in those

of

of the Civil War, and it comes from the same Corner. The Earl of Portland, the Lord Conway, and the Lord Lovelace, got their Liberty by swallowing the Vow and Oath, Hist. Reb. pag. 331. We have seen in what a terrible Fright the Parliament was, and how unable to raise an Army; but that Pannick was miraculously chang'd into the boldest Resolution on a sudden, and as miraculously did the like Pannick seize the victorious Army before Gloucester. Whitlock, pag. 69. "His Majesty understanding that Essex advanc'd towards the Relief of Gloucester, sent to him a Trumpet, with some Propositions to be treated on; but Essex, too much acquainted with such small Designs, [There is not one small Design in the History of the Rebellion, on the Side the Historian writes on] return'd a speedy Answer, That he had no Commission to treat, but to relieve Gloucester, which he was resolv'd to do, or lose his Life there. And his Soldiers hearing of a Trumpeter, cry'd out, with loud Acclamations, No Propositions! no Propositions!" and marching onwards, oblig'd the King to quit the Siege; but they had no sooner reliev'd the Town, than they were in Despair of getting back again, Hist. Reb. p. 344. However, by the Help of a dark Night, the Earl of Essex made himself Master of Cirencester, where he found two Regiments of the King's Horse, in all three hundred Men, which his Army could not have driven out of the Town, had it not been for the dark Night.

The merriest Part of the History is, where we are told just before they are to be beaten, that the King's Soldiers undervalu'd the Courage of the Enemy, pag. 347; and two or three Lines after, The King's Horse chang'd them with

L 2

a kind

a kind of Contempt. Now they were not so scornful as they are made to be; for instead
 Pag. 70. of attacking, *Whitlock* says, "*Essex* finding his
 "Soldiers full of Mettle, and resolv'd to force
 "their Way, he in Person led them on, first
 "charg'd the Enemy, beat them from all their
 "Advantages, got the Hill from them, pur-
 "su'd them to *Newbury*, and out of the Town
 "again; but the Night coming on, they no
 "farther could pursue them, &c.

The Earl informs us, that it was not the
 King's Army, but the Parliament's, that was
 Pag. 347. on the Hill; that the King's Troops were not
 beaten into, and out of *Newbury*, but routed
 them in most Places. In short, the whole De-
 scription is, like some others, so different from
Whitlock's, that if we should describe any Bat-
 tle with the like Number of Forces, and the
 like Situation, in *Asia*, *Africa*, or *America*,
 'twill agree as well with the first *Newbury* Fight,
 as that in the History of the Rebellion. *Whit-*
lock tells us, *The King's Army march'd off, leav-*
ing Essex Master of the Field. See History of
 the Rebellion, *The King's Signs of Victory were,*
That he had the Spoil of the Field, &c. The
 King's Horse routed the Enemy so far, till
 they had left the Foot. *Whitlock*, *The King's*
Horse perform'd with great Manhood, yet were
worsted.

The Character of the Lord *Falkland*, who
 fell in this Battle, is the most labour'd of
 any one in the History, tho' there are few
 without Labour: Yet there is something for-
 gotten of him, which we read in *Whitlock*,
Being perswaded by his Friends not to go into
the Fight, as having no Call to it, and being
no Military Officer; he said, I am weary of the
Times,

Times, and foresee much Misery to my Coun-
try, and believe I shall be out of it e'er Night.
 'This sincere Compassion for the Misery which
 Male-Administration had brought his Country
 into, could not but strike home in so noble
 a Breast as the Lord *Falkland's*, whilst most
 other Minds were sensible of that Misery, no
 farther than it hinder'd them of the Benefits
 of Court Favour. Again, *The King's Army*
had all the Trophies of Victory, pag. 360. hav-
 ing lost two thousand Men, and the Parliament
 five hundred, *Whitlock*, pag. 70. All the Victo-
 ries with which his Majesty's Arms had been
 bless'd, produc'd the most strange Reproaches
 and Quarrels at *Oxford*, which are generally
 the Effect of Defeats and Disgraces; but Coun-
 tils and Actions in this War, differ from those
 in all others. The wise Men and the brave
 Men in other Wars, do, for the most Part, suc-
 ceed, in this, the Cowards and the Idiots: In
 other Wars, the Noble and the Virtuous have
 been for the Liberty of their Country; in this,
 they are to a Man for the Tyranny of the
 Priesthood, and the superior Tyranny of Favour-
 ites. Thus is the Order of Right and Reason
 inverted, as will appear more and more to the
 End of these Distractions. Pag. 361.

The Mystery and Intrigues about the three
 Earls, *Clare*, *Bedford*, and *Holland* leaving *West-*
minster, and getting to *Oxford*, is one of those
 Parcels of History which is no where else so
 fully related; but the Reason of their leaving
Oxford, and getting to *Westminster* again, is not
 related so fully. *Whitlock* tells us the Matter
 plainly, and in an hundredth Part of the Words;
 "Upon some Distaste at the Parliament, they
 "got to *Oxford*; but finding less Respect from
 "the

"the King and his Party than they expected, they return'd to the Parliament. It was said in Drollery, that these three Earls had much confirm'd others to continue with the Parliament; for they having try'd both Parties, found it, by Experience, that this was best to adhere to."

I wonder'd where some of our smaller Writers of History, learn'd to apply God's Judgments as their Party and Passion directed them; but that Wonderment ceas'd at mention of Mr. Hampden's Death in *Chalgrave* Field; and again, Colonel *Fiennes* being condemn'd by a Council of War for the Loss of *Bristol*, it is said to be a Judgment upon him for fighting against the King, tho', in Truth, he was to lose his Head for not fighting against him.

pag. 410.

I cannot too often remember the Reader, of the boasted *Wisdom* of his Majesty's Counsellors, whose Counsels had however brought him into those Difficulties and Dangers, which encompass'd him on every Side. Had it been in the King's Power to have prevented the *Scots* marching into *England* to the Assistance of the Parliament, then the Neglect of providing against such a Force, or preventing its being rais'd, had been an Instance of great Weakness; but the endeavouring to oppose it, contrary to the Bent of almost that whole Nation, was an Instance of much greater Weakness. The *Scots* had taken Arms twice within the Space of four Years, to secure themselves against *Land's* Superstition and Oppression; their Cause had so near Relation to that of the Parliament, that much worse Politicians than the *Scots* are, must foresee their own Ruin in the Parliament's, and their entering *England* to their Assistance, was the

†

the natural Effect of the Propensity in Human Nature to Self-Preservation. Is it not strange then, that People should lift up their Eyes in Astonishment, that the *Scots* Presbyterians should enter into a Confederacy with the *English* Presbyterians for their mutual Defence and Safety? And is it not as strange, to think the Lords at *Oxford* should, by their Letter, persuade the *Scots* to lay down their Arms, and suffer the *English* Presbyterians to be first destroy'd by them? That Letter is the Flower of Politics; and it is with Pleasure I found there was one noble Lord among so many *English* Peers, who foresaw it would be useless, and, had the Degree of the Writers been less, most impertinent; the Earl of *Leicester* refusing to sign it.

The next Proof of the Wisdom of the Counsels at *Oxford*, is the summoning all the Deserters from the two Houses of Parliament to *Oxford*, and assembling them there as another Parliament, to oppose the two Houses at *Westminster* by Votes; and the best Reason for so summoning them, was the Foresight, that the Assembly at *Westminster* would never have to do with them, would never give them any Answer, or treat them otherwise than as Deserters.

The King abhor'd the Thoughts of introducing a Foreign Nation to subdue his own Subjects. His Majesty abhor'd what he could not have, that Foreign Nation being on the March to assist his own Subjects, while his Ministers in *Ireland* were treating with the bloody *Irish* Rebels, no Foreign Nation, to destroy his *English* Subjects. What Name will the Reader guess that the noble Historian gives

pag. 414.

L 4

to

to the *Irish* Massacre and Rebellion? Why the same tender one that is bestow'd on the Puritans in England, who complain'd of being aggriev'd, *His Majesty thought of Expedients to allay the Distempers in Ireland: And that Expedient was to make Peace with the Rebels, who, in their Distemper, cut the Throats of 200,000 Protestants. Whatever was done, was by the Council of State, by those wise Counsellors, and there was no sober Man in Ireland or England, that believ'd it in the King's Power to carry on the War: But then there was not a sober Man in England, who believ'd the King would employ those Rebels, to whom he gave Peace for the Sum of 30800*l.* Sterling, pag. 420. As to the Lords Justices, or others, applying to the King for Relief, any one might have seen that he could not supply them; and the Formality of their Letter, is of the same Kind with the Letter from the Peers at Oxford to the Covenanters in Scotland against the Covenant. The Lord Clarendon owns, *The King had bound himself not to make a Peace with the Rebels in Ireland, without the Consent of the Parliament in England. But it was visible the Parliament could not preserve the Remainder of the Protestants, pag. ibid. Very visible, that by their rooting out almost the whole Rebellious Race in a Year or two, as soon as they had secur'd themselves against their Enemies in England. When these Gentlemen cannot fairly carry off a Thing, they endeavour to divert your Reflections by something ridiculous in the Party they were at War with; but their Jest is insipid, and extremely awkward, as where the Parliament are said to have persuaded the People, that the Rebels; like Cannibals, eat one another for want* of*

Pag. 414.

Pag. 419.

Pag. 420.

of Meat, and would have been starved to Death, had it not been for the Cessation. The Truth is, they impeached the Lord Ormond, as a Traitor against the three Kingdoms: Whitl. p. 78. And the Protestants in Ireland, were so far from desiring the King to concern himself in their Safety, that after the Peace was made, *Twenty thousand* Whitl. English and Scots, in the North of Ireland, *vowed* pag. 78. to live and die together, in Opposition to the Cessation; which, his Lordship assures us, was made only to preserve the Remainder of them. If this is not History, I know what is.

What Service was made of the *Irish* Rebels, appears in the same Page 78. "Sir William Brereton reported to the House, that the *Irish* Rebels commit great Spoil about *Chester*; what they cannot devour, they set on Fire, commit horrid Rapes and Insolencies; more are expected to land in those Parts, and Prince Rupert to come and join with them."

The Earl more than once informs us, that a Messenger coming from Oxford to London without a Pass, was executed as a Spy; but he does not inform us, what Provocation the Powers then in Being there, had to proceed thus: See *Whitlock* p. 74. "The King's Officers having caused divers of the Parliament to be hang'd for Spies, as one poor Man by Prince Rupert's Order, upon the great Elm near the Bell in Henley, and many others, the Council of War at *Essex-House*, condemned two for Spies, who brought a Proclamation, and Letters, from Oxford to London, which were taken about them, and they were both hanged.

I think there is no Occasion of jesting upon what follows, but to repeat the Passage. *All the* Pag. 420. *Hope was in the Convention of the Members of Parliament,*

Parliament, summoned to Oxford, which being a new Thing, administred some Expectation, that the Parliament at London would look upon them as a Meeting of so many No-bodies, who were graciously and solemnly welcomed with that Ceremony which is used at the Opening of a Parliament; and the first wise Thing they did, was to write a Letter to the General of the Parliament Army, signed by his Highness the Prince, the Duke of York, and Three-and-forty Dukes, Marquisses, Earls, Viscounts, and Barons, and One hundred and eighteen Members of the House of Commons; but all the Answer from the Earl of Essex, was a Copy of the Covenant, and these Words, The Maintenance of the Parliament of England, and the Privileges thereof, is that for which we are resolved to spend our Blood. Short and pithy, yet as much as the Lords and Commons, who set their Names to the Letter, might have reasonably expected. Thus we see great Part of the Wisdom of those Counsels is thrown away.

The Meeting durst not enter upon charging the People in general, lest they should be thought to take upon them to be a Parliament. They would not charge them with Money; but there was a better Reason, They knew the People would not pay it. Therefore their Care was to preserve the People from Burthens, which they knew they would not bear, and therefore would not expose the King's Honour to Affronts, p. 452. What Variety of Reasons have we for their not doing, what would have signified nothing if they had done?

The high and insolent Proceedings at Westminster, made no Impression at Oxford, where the Parliament, as they called themselves, wrote
Letters

Letters to one another, to contribute Money, and to others whom they thought able and willing. They also declared several Things of great Efficacy, That to assist the Sects, was to be their Enemies: That the Lords and Commons at Westminster, were guilty of High Treason, for two or three Reasons to be found in their Declaration.

The brave Irish, who came over to join the King's Army, and were routed by Sir Thomas Fairfax, lost the Day, as the King's Soldiers did at Newbury before mentioned. The best Reason, besides the Providence of God, for this Defeat, was the extream Contempt and Disdain which the Irish Forces had of the English, p. 458. Even the Teagues on his Lordship's Side, look down on the pitiful Roundheads. I never met with such scornful Creatures, as the Cavaliers are said to be; which puts me in Mind of what I have seen at the Playhouse, where a Bully has cock'd at the Man that has been kicking him, as is elsewhere observed. "About this Time, the Councils at Westminster lost a principal Supporter, by the Death of John Pym." I desire the Reader to take Notice of the extream Civility in Appellation. Mr. Pym was, perhaps, one of the greatest Genius's for Policy, in those Politick Times, yet neither the Eminence of his Worth, nor his Station in the World, can defend him from the following History, p. 462. "He died with great Torment and Agony, of a Disease unusual, and therefore the more spoken of, Morbus Pediculosus, which render'd him an Object very loathsome to those who had been most delighted with him." Had the Fact been true, there would have been Inhumanity enough in insulting the Corpse of a Gentleman

Gentleman of his Rank; but as it is not true, what Name will the Reader give to the Affersion? *Whitlock* says, p. 66. *It was believed, that the Multitude of Business and Cares did so break his Spirits and Health, that it brought his Death.* And *A. Wood*, p. 39. quotes this Passage of the Sermon at his Funeral; *He died of an Imposthume in his Bowels, and not raving mad, nor of a loathsome Disease, as Eight Doctors of Physick, and well near a Thousand People, who came to see his Corps opened, and his Corps bare, can testify.* After this, 'tis needless to vindicate his Character against the Reflections in the History of the Rebellion; where the Fact is false, one may always be sure the Argument is so too.

Vol. II.
Part I.
p. 473.

Another such kind of Fact is the next Passage concerning the taking of *Arundel Castle*, and *Mr. Chillingworth* in it. "Here the Learned "and Eminent *Mr. Chillingworth* was taken "Prisoner, who, out of Kindness and Respect "to the Lord *Hopton*, had accompanied him "in that March, and being indisposed by the "terrible Coldness of the Season, chose to repose himself in that Garrison, 'till the "Weather should mend. As soon as his Person was known, which would have drawn "Reverence from any noble Enemy, the "Clergy that attended that Army, prosecuted "him with all the Inhumanity imaginable, so "that by their barbarous Usage, he died "within few Days, to the Grief of all that "knew him." Here the Misrepresentation

A. Wood,
Part II.
p. 42.

looks one full in the Face. *Mr. Chillingworth* acted as an Engineer at the Siege of *Gloucester*, where he provided great Store of Engines, after the Manner of the Roman *Testudines cum Pluteis*, to assault the City. The same

Author

Author assures us, his Aid was made use of in the Fortifications of *Arundel Castle*, so that he did not retire to that strong Hold, on account of the Cold Weather, but to perform the Military Part of an Engineer: And it is said, he went there to repose, only to prevent any hard Thoughts of his Conduct, who, being a Minister of the Gospel, should take on him the Direction of the Gunners, in the Sieges of Cities and Castles. Then, as to his Usage, had it been as we are told, it would have been detestable, on account of his uncommon Merit; but the contrary of it appears in *Monsieur des Maizeaux's* Life of *Chillingworth*, written with so much Sincerity and Caution, that one cannot in the least suspect it. *To say that this kind of Inhumanity was the Cause of his Death, is, in my humble Opinion, doing them, in whose Hands he was, an Injury.* Dr. *Cheyne*, who was Minister of *Peworth*, printed an Account of *Mr. Chillingworth's* Treatment, upon which *Monsieur des Maizeaux* has made some Remarks. *I treated him, says the Doctor, with due Regard to his great Merit, and present Condition.* In the Remarks 'tis said, "The Governor of *Chichester* gave Order, "that Lieutenant *Gollidge* should take Care of "him, and placed him in the Bishop of *Chichester's* Palace, where he had very courteous "Usage, and all Accommodations which were "requisite for a sick Man, as appears by the "Testimony of his own Man, at *Oxford*, and "a Letter of thankful Acknowledgement, from "Mr. *Chillingworth's* Father, to Mr. *Gollidge*; "nay, by the Codicil to Mr. *Chillingworth's* "Will, in which he gave Ten Pounds to Captain *King*; Ten Pounds to Mrs. *Mason*, who kept

"kept the Bishop's House; and Ten Pounds to Lieutenant Gollidge; and it may further appear by a Letter of Captain King's, sent to Oxford, and the Testimony of Mr. Edmunds, his Apothecary." Add to all this, That *A. Wood*, the *Oxonian*, a mortal Enemy to the Puritans, owns, *Mr. Chillingworth was civilly used*, Vol. II. p. 43. The Earl of *Clarendon*, *The Inhumanity he met with*, killed him, Vol. II. Part 2. p. 473. Tell us in the Name of Charity, Christian, and Pagan, how we shall call such Misrepresentation; what Opinion we must have of Dr. Felton, and many other such Doctors, who say the History of the Rebellion is sincere and impartial?

Though we have done with the Usage Mr. Chillingworth met with from the Puritans, we have not done with the Man, for we find much to our Purpose in his Discourses with Dr. Cheynell, which Discourses *A. Wood* owns frankly, none, but the Royal Party, look'd upon as a Shortening of his Days. Dr. Cheynell very often left off arguing with him on account of his ill State of Health: Speaking of the King's going to the House of Commons for the Five Members, Cheynell said, *You knew better than I the Queen was discontented, because her bloody Design was not put in Execution.* Mr. Chillingworth reply'd, *I cannot deny it, and I will not excuse it; but the Lord Clarendon does both deny and excuse it.* What follows, is an Excuse for his Lordship, if his Admirers will accept of it as such: It proves, that the People at Oxford did really not know what was doing, or done, at London: How then could they write a true History of it? Mr. Chillingworth confess'd very honestly, Monf.

des Maiz.
p. 330.
& al'

des Maiz. p. 331. that they had no certain Information of Matters of Fact at Oxford; and having so often met with Encomiums on the Piety of the King's Officers and Soldiers, in the Earl of Clarendon's History, and so often animadverted on that prodigious Partiality, we will read what Mr. Chillingworth said on this Subject, p. *ibid.* I observe a great deal of Piety in the Commanders and Soldiers of the Parliament's Army. I confess, their Discourse and Behaviour doth bespeak Christians; but I can find little of God, or Godliness, in ours. I should have wondered if he had. They will not seek God, whilst they are in their Bravery; nor trust him when they are in Distress. I have much-ado to bring them upon their Knees to call upon God, when they go on upon any desperate Service, or are cast into any perplexed Condition. Could it be expected, that Men who were fighting for Crossiers, Copes, Hoods, Altars, Tapers, Crucifixes, Bowings, Dancing, and Gaming upon Sundays, would seek God, a Term which, in all our late famous Histories, is the Occasion of much Mirth, and of as much Wit, as the Historians were capable of? Contrary to this simple Narrative of the Morals of the Cavaliers, see his Lordship's, Vol. II. Part 1. p. 276. *The Soldiers were restrained from all manner of Licence, and obliged to so solemn and frequent Acts of Devotion, Acts very different from the above mentioned Seeking of God, insomuch as the Fame of their Religion and Discipline, was no less than that of their Courage.* Mr. Chillingworth speaks of the Soldiers commanded by the Lord Hopton: And the Earl of Clarendon speaks of the Soldiers commanded also by the Lord Hopton; yet they differ as much as his Lordship and Dr. Calamy do, in what Dr. Calamy

Pag. 21.

lamy says, *Bant. Life*, p. 52. "If any one was known for a strict and famous Preacher, or for a Man of a pious Life; he was either plunder'd, or abus'd, and in Danger of his Life: And if a Man did but pray in his Family, or were but heard repeat a Sermon, or sing a Psalm, they presently cried out *Rebels*, *Round-heads*, and all their Money and Goods that were portable, prov'd guilty, how innocent soever they were themselves." His Lordship throws all this notorious Scandal on those very Psalm-Singers; "The Soldiers, in their March, took the Goods from all Papists and Malig-nants, as lawful Prize. The common People were, in all Places, grown to the Barbarity and Rage against the Nobility and Gentry, under the Stile of Cavaliers, that it was not safe for any to live in their Houses, who were taken Notice of, as no Votaries to the Parliament." So it runs all along, the very Reverse of the most sober Relations. Let the Fact be ever so well known, and, in truth, were it less known than it is, one could not easily be persuaded, that the *Fox-hunters*, *March-beer Men*, and the *Rabble of Villages*, were, on any Account, to be taken for the godly Party, or had the least Notion of the Purity of Religion and Life. Men in their Beer, may sometimes battle it very stoutly; but Men of Zeal, seldom fail of striking home, and the Success of this War is a Proof of it.

C H A P.



CHAP. IV.

Remarks on the History of the REBELLION. Vol. II. Part II.

IN the last Chapter I made some Mention of the Discourse between Mr. *Chillingworth* and Dr. *Cheyne*. I will add a little more of it, to prove that the Earl of *Clarendon* could not have given a better Title to his Book than the *History of the Rebellion*. Dr. *Cheyne* desir'd Mr. *Chillingworth* to tell him freely, whether in good Earnest he thought the Parliament did intend any thing else than the taking of the *Wicked from the King*? we must excuse the Doctor's Phrase, being the Cant of the Times: the establishing the King's Throne in Justice; the setting up of *Christ's Ordinances in Power, Purity, Liberty, and the settling of the known Laws of the Land; the Privileges of Parliament, and Liberties of the Subject in Quiet and Peace*? Mr. *Chillingworth* reply'd, I must acknowledge that I do verily believe that the Intentions of the Parliament are better than the Intentions of the Army which I have follow'd. Let not any Man object against these Passages, because they are related by Dr. *Cheyne*; for tho' his Bigotry and Enthusiasm carry'd him too far very often, and to a Scandal at Mr. *Chillingworth's* Funeral; yet his Account of what pass'd in Discourse between him and the Deceased deserves Credit, after what Monsieur

M

Des

Des Maizeaux, who took great Pains in his Life of *Chillingworth*, tells us of *Cheyne's* Relation, *We cannot reasonably suspect the Truth of the most material Passages it contains.*

To excuse the Disgrace of the Lord *Hopton* in the Battle at *Alresford*, the Earl tells us, *Few of the King's Soldiers were better arm'd than with Swords. Very wise Officers and Soldiers, to fight against Carabine and Pistol, Head-piece, Back, and Breast-Plate, with a naked Sword only. Waller exceeded in Number. Whitl. p. 81. The King's Forces had the Advantage in Number. Hist. Reb. The King's Soldiers, with their Swords only, bore two or three Charges of the Horse with notable Courage, and without being broken.* What comes after, is the most courtly Description of a most shameful Rout, that ever was written. When Night drew near, for the Approach whereof neither Party was sorry, the Lord *Hopton* thought it necessary to leave the Field. If our Gazetteer, when he related the Defeat at *Hockley*, and the Confederates driving the French into the *Danube*, had said the *Mareschal de Tallard* had thought it necessary to leave the Field, would not his Paper have been more a Jest than even our Gazettes have been for near twenty Years past? *Whitlocke* informs us why he thought it necessary, p. 81. *Hopton's Rout was so total, that scarce ten of his Men were left together. Hist. Reb. The Parliament's Men were so scatter'd, that they had no mind to pursue; the Lord Hopton drew off his Men, scarce ten in a Company, and Waller made haste to Winchester. If any thing in History is comparable to this, then I understand Euclid better than Livy; yet this is not all, the Lord Hopton retired with all his Cannon and Ammunition, whereof he lost none; he could not lose any if he retir'd with all: But the mischief of it is, he lost all that Cannon and Ammunition, whereof he lost none. See Whitlocke, p. 81. Hopton fled*

fled to Basing-House; the Earl of Clarendon says, he retired to Reading; his Ordnance, Arms, Bag, and Baggage were left to the Parliament, and Sir Arthur Haslerig closely pursu'd them, while Waller marched to attack Winchester. 'T would be no hard Matter for me to prove that almost all the Relations of Battles are of this kind in the History of the Rebellion, so full of Sincerity and Impartiality, that 'tis Heresy to suspect it.

The Barbarity of that People, the Parliament, being notorious, that they regarded not the Laws of Arms, or of Nations; Hist. Reb. p. 501. But every thing on the King's side was acted according to the Laws of Nations, and of Arms, especially the Treaty of Peace with the Irish Rebels, made by the Lord Ormond, which his Majesty had bound himself not to make: Whitl. adds, p. 81. The Irish Rebels enter'd into a Catholick Covenant, and sent their Agents to the King to have a free Catholick Parliament, and they had Countenance at Oxford.

There being a small Appearance of Advantage on the King's Side in the Skirmish at *Copredy Bridge*, his Lordship's Account of it is a String of Victories; every Parliament Party is routed as fast as the Cavaliers can come at them. The Roundheads make no Resistance, and behave so like *Poltroons*, that the Royalists get no Honour by beating them. *Whitlocke* informs us, that *Middleton* on the Parliament Side routed the Enemy, and pursu'd them near a Mile; and closes all thus, *The King's Forces thought they had much the better of this Day, but Waller kept the Ground, and the Enemy drew off. It was a very common thing for the Cavaliers to give Romantick Accounts of their Bravery in all Military Actions, as Whitlocke tells us, In the intercepted Letters are Relations of the late Fight at Copredy-Bridge much different from the Relations thereof made by the Commanders upon the Place. What sort of* Pag. 89.

Memoirs the Cavalier Writers took their History from, appears by this Letter in *Rushworth*, p. 685. Serjeant *Francis* wrote it to his Father; "Prince *Rupert* hath utterly routed the bonny Scots and Rebels at *Marston-Moor*, taken General *Lestley* and the Arch-Rebel Sir *Thomas Fairfax* Prisoners, slain the Earl of *Manchester*, and taken 48 Pieces of Ordnance, 10000 Arms, and not left them so much as a blue Bonnet: This is certified by an Express under his Highness Prince *Rupert's* own Hand, and therefore you may credit it, and make it known." I really believe the Party did credit it, till by missing their Army they found they were knock'd on the head; and that by such Arts their Spirits were kept up. I have often consider'd what a shining History we should have had, if the King's Forces had beaten the Enemy as often, and as well as the Parliament's beat the King's. One sees the Delight the noble Historian takes in describing even the most minute Action, where his Friends had the better; but where the Parliament's Party obtain'd a glorious Victory, as at *Marston-Moor*, his Lordship has not Patience to relate it; p. 504. *As I can take no Pleasure in writing of it, so Posterity would receive little Pleasure in the most particular Relation.* I confess I am one of those Posterity, who have read that Relation in *Whitlocke* and *Rushworth*, with very great Pleasure: For I shall never be ashamed of owning my good Wishes to that Cause to the End of the *Civil War*, and till the Soldiery became Masters.

A few Lines back we repeated a violent Charge of the *Earl's* against the Parliament for Barbarity, whereas that Charge was constant and true against the King's Officers and Soldiers. The Parliament having order'd six of the *Irish* Rebels to be executed at *Wareham* in *Dorsetshire*, *Ludlow* in-

forms

forms us the Commanders of the Cavaliers caus'd "twelve Clothiers to be hang'd upon the same Tree; but one of them breaking his Halter, de- Pag. 120. fired that what he had suffer'd might be accepted, or else that he might fight against any two for his Life; notwithstanding which, they caus'd him to be hang'd up again."

I thought it strange, that the *Earl* always gave Col. *Brown*, tho' in the Parliament Service, a good Word, a *Citizen of London*, not a *Woodmonger*, of good Reputation, a stout Man. But I found out the Reason of it, when after the Restoration he sat on the Bench to judge some of his Brother Officers to be hang'd, drawn, and quarter'd.

The next Encomium we meet with, is on a Papist, Col. *Gage*, for whom the Lords of the Council had a singular Esteem, his Grandfather having been a Knight of the Garter, and he resided long in the Court at Brussels. He was a graceful Person, of great Parts and Breeding, being a very good Scholar in the polite Parts of Learning, a great Master in the Spanish and Italian Tongues, besides the French and Dutch, and so well acquainted with our Constitution, both in Church and State, that he had not been in England in seventy Years before.

This Gentleman's Grandfather, we see was a Knight of the Garter, and all the Officers of the Cavaliers are ennobled in his Lordship's History. The Parliament Officers are there degraded, and their Coats of Arms taken from them, to reduce them to be Coblers, Tinkers, Taylors, &c. But unluckily, in p. 528. we meet with five Parliament Colonels all together, besieging the Marquess of *Winchester* in *Basing House*, Sir *Richard Onslow*, Col. *Norton*, Col. *Jarvis*, Col. *Whitehead*, and Col. *Morley*, Men of so great Name and Fortune, that it will be a hard Matter to match them in so small a Number of Forces on the King's Side. This is a

M 3

trivial

trivial Remark; but his Lordship's frequent Use of *Quality, Rank, Extraction, Wealthy, Substantial*, renders it necessary to shew how the Bias bears, even in the vainest Things.

In the Surrender of *Greenland House*, the Reason is express'd so fully, that no manner of Fault can be laid to the Cavaliers for yielding of it; it could not possibly be longer defended, having been beaten down to the Ground about their Ears, the whole Structure being beaten down by the Cannon.

Pag. 529. Middleton, notwithstanding all the Affronts he had receiv'd, was come to Tiverton; I will mention some of those Affronts out of *Whitlocke*. Middleton took 30 Horse of one of the King's Convoys near Bristol, p. 96. P. 1b. Middleton fell on a Party of the King's Forces, who fled and were totally routed; the Lord Byron, and the Lord Mollineux escap'd by the Darkness of the Night. Again, Middleton took a Troop of the King's Horse near Exeter. These were the Affronts he met with.

In the Relation of the Defeat of the Earl of *Essex* in *Cornwall*, the Introduction is the Retreat of the Parliament Horse under Sir *William Balfour*, which is told us to be done by Stealth with great Wariness, Terror, and much good Luck. *Whitlocke* on the contrary tells us, a great Party of the Horse being engaged, they slew many of the Enemy, and forc'd their Passage through the King's Army, and through the Numerousness of the Enemy could hardly retreat. This Account is so unlike the Earl's, that one must give allowance to Parliament Historians, for the Care they also take of the Reputation of their own Party. But they use a little more Conscience in their Misrepresentations. *Whitlocke* then tells the Story as it is told by the Earl of *Clarendon*, and makes a very wise and just Remark upon it: By this we may see the great Difference in the Relations of Martial Performances, always according to the particular Inter-

Pag. 98.

rest

rest of the Relators. He then relates that Event as it happen'd, and as different from the Earl's Relation as any of the Events I have treated of are from other Relators. The most partial of our late Historians, one who has aped the History of the Rebellion to the utmost of his Capacity, allows *Whitlocke* to be a fair Writer, and he is allow'd to be so by every one that has read him. Nay, it is not question'd but the Earl of *Anglesea*, who publish'd *Whitlocke's* Memorials, and wrote the Preface, did garble the Work very diligently, and throw aside whatever grated the Ears of the Royalists; one may perceive that his Lordship was cautious how he offended the Court, and if we had had those *Memoirs* entire, I question whether we should ever have had a History of the Rebellion; for if what we have, is so contrary to the Lord *Clarendon*, what would that which we have not, have been? *Whitlocke's* Character is by no means inferior to the Earl of *Clarendon's* in any thing, Birth, Breeding, Fortune, Learning, Eloquence, Parts, Experience, or whatever we call Merit. As to Integrity, he was never suspected of unfair Dealing; and whether the Suspicion, which we justly have of the Earl's History, does not give all Advantage to *Whitlocke's*, I leave to the Reader; and shall return to the particular Account *Whitlocke* gives of the Disgrace, which the Earl of *Essex* met with in *Cornwall*: Sir *William Balfour* with 2300 Pag. 98. Horse, brake through the King's Quarters. The Earl will have it, that they did not break through, but steal through the King's Quarters. *Whitl.* Some came by Design to the Parliament Forces, intimating that the King was willing to admit of a Treaty. *Hist. Reb.* Lieutenant Col. Butler came from the Earl of *Essex* to desire a Parley. *Essex* was gone to *Plymouth*, *Whitl.* Leaving *Skippon* with the Foot, and a few Horse behind. *Hist. Reb.* The Enemy sent Propositions, M 4 but

but they quickly found they were not look'd upon as Men in that Condition. The Propositions may be guess'd at by this blunt Speech of General Skippon to the Soldiers.

GENTLEMEN,

You see our General and many of our chief Officers have thought fit to leave us, and our Horse are got away; we are left alone upon our Defence: that which I propound to you is this, that we having the same Courage as our Horse had, and the same God to assist us, may make the same Tryal of our Fortunes, and endeavour to make our Way through our Enemies as they have done, and account it better to die with Honour and Faithfulness than to live dishonourable.

There is more true Gallantry in the plain Speech of that rough Soldier than in all the florid Eulogy in the History of the Rebellion: Where we read, all Care was taken to preserve the Parliament's Soldiers from Violence. Now for Whitlocke, The Forces as they marched forth being pillag'd by the King's, Skippon rode up to his Majesty, who stood to see them
Pag. 98. pass by, and told him it was against his Honour and Justice, that his Articles should not be perform'd, that his Soldiers did pillage some of the Parliament Soldiers contrary to the Articles, and desired his Majesty to give Order to restrain them.

The next Transaction is the above-mention'd Attempt to relieve Basing-House by Colonel Gage, and other Popish Officers. The Earl writes, "he arriv'd safe at Oxford, having lost only two Captains, and two or three other Gentlemen, they all come out of the Heraldry Office, and common Men, in all to the Number of eleven, and forty or fifty wounded. Above a hundred Prisoners were taken, and it was confess'd by Enemies as well as Friends, that it was as Soldierly an Action, as had been perform'd in the War

"War on either Side, and redounded very much to the Reputation of the Commander, p. 532;" who had with him but 250 Horse, and 400 Foot, p. 529. This Passage is so highly in favour of that Popish Party, that it were to be wish'd it had been true. Whitlocke says, "About 1500 of
Pag. 99. the King's Foot out of several Garrisons mounted for Dragoons by Night, marched towards Basing; Col. Norton, and Col. Morley took the Alarm, charged them, and brake through them; but they with great Courage wheeled about, and charged Norton's whole Body, who retreated into Morley's Quarters; Norton and Morley faced them, but they would not fight, which was a most Soldierly Action, but retreated back again, and were pursued, and 150 of them kill'd and taken, one Major, with other inferior Officers." The Earl says, what Number the Enemy lost, could not be known, but it was believ'd they
Pag. 532. lost many. Whitlocke honestly informs us how many, Col. Norton lost but one Man in this Soldierly Action.
Pag. 99.

Sir Richard Greenvile, being Brother to Sir Bevil Greenvile, who has so many fine Characters in Cavalier History, 'tis strange that the Earl should not spare him a little more: "He seiz'd all his Wife's Estate, without allowing her any Competency, for which he was thrown into the Fleet Prison. In Ireland he committed signal Acts of Cruelty upon both Sexes, young and old, hanging old Men and old Women, some of
Pag. 53. Quality, after he had plunder'd them. He receiv'd from the Parliament a great Sum of Money, and immediately went to Oxford, and betray'd their Counsels; he was graciously receiv'd by the King, who wrote Letters to Prince Maurice to put him in possession of his Wife's Estate, which he had been outed of by a Decree

"Decree in *Chancery*. Four or five Fellows coming once out of a Wood with Burthens upon their Backs, he bid some Troopers fetch those Fellows to him, and made one of them hang all the rest, so strong his Appetite was to those Executions; however, he did things, which were not without Merit in the King's Service." The Deformity of this Picture is such, that it cannot be view'd without Horror and Detestation, and the only Excuse the Earl has for his delighting in Blood, is, that he did those signal Acts of Cruelty in *Ireland*, to gain the Esteem of the Parliament, p. 537. The Puritans in *England* were the most Blood-thirsty Wretches that ever were heard of: Will such History as this pass upon Posterity, or indeed on the present Age, when the Foible of it is laid open?

The Account of the Relief of *Banbury* has the same Infirmity with the rest. Two or three Shots made at them by a couple of Drakes, brought from *Oxford* by Col. Gage, made them stagger. The Earl of *Northampton* scatter'd their Horse, and their Foot dispersing, escap'd by Inclosures. There are more such Particulars, all taken out of so simple a Relation, as in *Whitlocke*. A Party of the King's, under the Earl of *Northampton*, came to relieve *Banbury*; and taking the Besiegers ~~at~~ unawares, made their way into the Castle, reliev'd it, and made good their Retreat.

The Relation of the second *Newbury* Fight, affords us plenty of the Variety of History. "In this Posture they had many Skirmishes with the Enemy, for two Days, without losing any Ground, and the Enemy was still beaten off with Loss", *Hist. Reb.* *Whitlocke*, On the King's Part appear'd rather a declining to engage. "Sir *Bernard Astley* not only routed the Parliamentarians, but compell'd them to rout two other Bodies of their own Men; in which Pursuit

"Pursuit very many of the Enemy were slain," *Hist. Reb.* *Whitlocke*, Some Parties of Horse skirmish'd between both Parties; in which play the Parliament had the best, of whose Part but one Man fell. "Sir *John Cansfield* routed the Right Wing of the Enemy's Horse, and had the Execution of them near half a Mile, wherein most of the Musqueteers were slain, and very many of the Horse; insomuch that the whole Wing rally'd not a-P. 547. gain", *Hist. Reb.* *Whitl.* After a long and hot Dispute, the Parliamentarians beat the King's Forces, first from their Works, and then from their Ordnance, nine in Number; in which Atchievement they P. 104. lost a few Men. "Twelve hundred Horse and three thousand Foot, under the Earl of *Manchester*, advanc'd with great Resolution upon *Doleman's* House at *Shaw*. They came singing Psalms; this is one of the merriest Subjects which they divert themselves with. They drove forty Men at first from a Hedge, but they were presently charg'd by Sir *John Brown*, who did good execution upon them, till he saw another Body of Horse. He fell upon their Rear, and that ground was kept all the day. Col. *Thelwell's* Reserve beat them quite out of the Field, leaving two Drakes, some Colours, and many dead Bodies behind them. Col. *Page* fall'd from *Shaw-House*, forc'd the Enemy to retire in great confusion, and pursu'd them from the House with a notable Execution; insomuch that they left 500 dead upon a little spot of ground; which being very much within my knowledge, I can easily determine which is most true, that Account or this out of *Ludlow*, who was in the Engagement: "Our Horse and Foot, with some Cannon, were drawn into a Bottom between *Doleman's* House, and the Hill, where our Guns were first planted; those at the little Houses,

“ Houses, and at the Breast-Work, fired thick upon us ; but our Foot ran up to the Houses, and attack’d the Enemy so vigorously, that they were forced to retire to their Breast-Work.”

Hist. Reb. The Resolution was to march away in the Night towards Wallingford, and to that Purpose all the Carriages and great Ordnance had been drawn under Donnington Castle. His Majesty, that he might make no Stay, but join Prince Rupert, made haste towards Bath. Whitl. p. 104. “ An Hour after Midnight the King marched out of Town, with an Attendant Troop only, towards Winchester, and Col. Cromwell follow’d the Body of the Enemy two Hours before Day.” Hist. Reb. It was now Night, for which neither Party was sorry. Whitlocke, If they had had but one Hour more of Day-light, in all Probability they had totally routed and dispersed the King’s whole Army. Hist. Reb. Prince Maurice marched away in good Order to Wallingford, where all the Army both Horse and Foot arrived next Morning : The Parliamentarians well enough pleased to be rid of an Enemy that had handled them so ill.

At the time when the *History of the Rebellion* was first published, I was very sensible of the Use which was intended to be made of it, and why the publishing of it was put off till thirty Years after the noble Historian was dead. I was also sensible, as soon as I read it, of the necessity of making Observations upon it. But the Reputation it acquir’d by its beautiful Imagination and florid Style, tho’ it encreased the Mischief, render’d all Animadversion vain : The Attempt would have been look’d upon as Insolent and Desperate. But another History coming out soon after, a very mean Copy of the Earl’s, without any of those Flowers and Graces which shin’d in his Lordship’s, I ventur’d to animadvert on that Historian, to prevent the establishing an Opinion, that

that the Principles on which the *Revolution* is founded, and consequently our present happy Constitution, are not the Effects of Sedition and Rebellion, as they must be if his Lordship’s Arguments are true. Having pretty well convinced the World of that other Historian’s Errors, I should have contented myself with hoping, that what was wrong in his History would not be right in the Earl of Clarendon’s ; but the great Name of the Author had confirmed People so generally in the Value of the Work, that I found I had done nothing, if I did not prove that those Facts, and the Reflections upon them, which a later Historian had transplanted into his History, were really as wrong in the Original as in the Copy ; and that our Establishment, Ecclesiastical and Civil, could not subsist, if the Principles asserted in the History of the Rebellion were established in the Minds of *Englishmen*. And what can hinder the establishing of them, but shewing that the Facts, which are the Foundation of them, are not true ? That indeed the Facts are sometimes made for the Arguments, and sometimes the Arguments for the Facts ; and that our Laws and Liberties are not at the Mercy of Favourites and Priests ; which they must be, if the Government of King Charles I. was Legal and Laudable ; as it appears to be in the Earl’s Account of it. ’Tis very necessary to digress thus sometimes, to justify the Boldness of this Undertaking ; which was not undertaken out of Envy, Prejudice, Vanity, or Ambition, but out of a sincere Desire to fix in the Minds of *Englishmen* those noble and generous Sentiments which have always preserved their Liberties, when they have been brought into the greatest Danger by Oppression and Priestcraft. It was these Sentiments that inspir’d the Parliament with a Resolution to bring *Delinquents to Justice*,

Justice, and vindicate their just Rights. It was these generous Sentiments that animated the next Generation in the glorious Attempt to secure their Rights and Liberties by *abdicating* the Son of that King, with whom their Fathers had made War in the like Cause. It was these Sentiments which gave Warmth to the Zeal of those Patriots who procured the Law for settling the Succession to the Crown in the Royal House of *Hanover*. And not to encourage such noble and generous Sentiments, is basely to give up the Security we and our Posterity have, of enjoying that invaluable Blessing. For when People cease to think, they will cease to act as their Fathers did, in defence of their Religion and Liberty. I am as sensible as any one can be of the Opinions that will pass on this Performance: That it will by some be thought too presumptuous; by others, too officious; that some will think the History of the Rebellion should have been forgiven or forgotten, and no Objections be made to it for fear of giving Offence. But I must needs own it was such sort of Opinions, that after one terrible Revolution, in little more than twenty Years time made another necessary. It was the humouring People in their pernicious Principles that gave them Strength to bring our Religion, Rights, and Liberties to the Brink of Destruction, from which the generous Sentiments above-mentioned deliver'd it. We return now to the History, wherein there is not one Sentiment corrupted with any concern for that Liberty or for that Religion, other than what *Laurel* and his Brethren would have made it.

His Majesty resolved not to depart from any thing that might in any degree be prejudicial to the Protestant Interest in Ireland. The making a Cessation with Popish Rebels, and sending for the Forces into England which had been raised to reduce them,

was

was not in any degree prejudicial to the Protestant Interest. *Ludlow*, p. 161. "So that the King looking upon the Rebels in Ireland as his last Refuge, sends Orders to the Earl of Ormond, not only to continue the Cessation, but to conclude a Peace with them, upon Condition they would oblige themselves to send over an Army to his Assistance against the Parliament of England." And that the Irish Rebels did actually come over, and destroy as many English Protestants as they could, we read in *Whitlocke*, tho' they did not answer the King's Expectation. P. 79. *It was observed that the Irish Rebels coming over hither, never did any Service considerable, but were cut off, some in one Place, some in another. In all Places the Vengeance of God follows Blood-thirsty Men.* Yet the giving Peace to these Blood-thirsty Men was not in any degree prejudicial to the Protestant Interest. The People of England thought right, however the noble Historian thinks: The King suffer'd under no Reproach more than by having made that Cessation, so wonderfully unreasonable was the generality of the Nation then. The People thought that abandoning the Protestants in Ireland, and fighting with the Protestants in England, did prejudice to their common Interest. But wise Men and sober Men, to use his Lordship's Phrase, were of Opinion, that if the Irish Rebels could destroy the Protestants in England, the Protestants in Ireland, of whom they had just massacred 200000, would be rather safer than they were before. How wonderfully unreasonable was the generality of the Nation, not to be of the same Opinion with the sober Men and the wise Men?

Notice has been taken elsewhere of the ill Information which those at Oxford had from London as to what was done there, and the whole Narration about the Self-denying Ordinance, and new-modelling the Army, is another Instance of it.

But

But to make the Matter ridiculous, it is introduced with a solemn Fast-day to seek God; a new Phrase brought from Scotland with the Covenant. I took notice before what a merry thing that Phrase is with these Gentlemen. It was brought from Scotland like a piece of Scotch PLAD to wrap up the Covenant in. Would it not have been as fair to have said, It was brought from Scripture? Seek and ye shall find, &c. But the Truth is, such Seekings were so little known in the Cavalier Army, that 'tis no wonder they took the very Phrase to be a Jest.

They accused the Archbishop of a Design to bring in Popery, and of having Correspondence with the Pope; of which his greatest Enemies absolved him. This translated into plain English is, Mr. Prynne, Mr. Burton, Mr. Peters, &c. declared that Archbishop Laud had no Correspondence with the Pope, for they were his greatest Enemies. Prynne absolved him from corresponding about a Cardinal's Cap, tho' he read it in the Archbishop's Diary written with his own Hand. That Correspondence has been since made as evident, as any Fact can be, by the noble and learned Monsieur Wiquefort's further Account of his Corresponding with Cardinal Rosetti, the Pope's Minister at London, and offering to go and dwell with the Pope for 48000 Livres a Year Pension. That Gentleman, in his fine Treatise of an Ambassador and his Functions, lets us into the Secret of the Correspondence of our Court with that of Rome to destroy the Protestant Religion. He was a Privy-Counsellor to his Highness the Duke of Brunswick, and had serv'd that Prince as his Minister in several Courts. His Treatise is as judicious as it is polite; and as he was not at all concern'd in our Matters, he had no Biass but the love of Truth. Rosetti was not contented to use his utmost Endeavours to obtain Liberty of Conscience for

Pag. 12.

for the Roman Catholics, but attempted also to change the predominant Religion: The greatest Enemies Archbishop Laud had, absolv'd him from any such Attempt, according to the History of the Rebellion; and according to the Lord Wiquefort's History, p. 12. The Archbishop of Canterbury was much inclined to it, and resolv'd to follow Rosetti to Rome, if Cardinal Barbarini, Nephew to Pope Urban VIII. would have insur'd him a Pension of forty-eight thousand Livres. The Earl says, Laud was the greatest Enemy to Popery in England, and as able an Enemy to it as Chillingworth: No Man was an abler Enemy. His Lordship owns, Vol. I. Part I. p. 149. "The Count of Rosetti resided at London in great part, and was avowedly resorted to by Catholics of all Conditions, over whom he assumed a particular Jurisdiction. He was caress'd, and presented magnificently. And, p. 444. The Pope's Nuntio, Count Rosetti, enjoined Fasting and Praying to be observed every Week by the English Papists for Success in the Alteration of Religion." And the suffering such a Minister to have such Jurisdiction, which was so easy for Laud to have prevented, or indeed his residing here at all, is sufficient Proof, that neither Laud, nor any of the Ministers in King Charles the First's Reign did in the least favour or countenance Popery.

The Archbishop convinced all impartial Men of his P. 572. Integrity. His writing against Fisber the Jesuit, and his treating with the Pope's Nuntio, prove that also sufficiently. When it was apprehended, that the Lords and Commons of England would murder him, Hist. Reb. p. 572. he pleaded his Pardon, which was obtain'd for him at Oxford by the noble Historian himself, and drawn up by Sir Thomas Gardiner; and when seal'd with the Broad-Seal, carefully carry'd to London, and deliver'd into

N

into

into the Archbishop's own Hand. So valuable a Present as that, could not but be taken great care of; and it had lain by two Years, to be produced on the very occasion it was used for, to prevent the Execution of the Parliament's Sentence, that *he should be hang'd, drawn, and quarter'd*; but upon the Archbishop's Petition, the Manner of the Execution was exchanged to beheading, tho' not upon the first Petition: which argues how criminal the Parliament of *England* thought him. And indeed, the Obstinacy and Severity of the Man were such, that no ingenuous Tempers could ever bear with him; insomuch, that one would take the Panegyrics which are bestow'd on him, to be made rather in spite to the Judgment of Men of Ingenuity, than in consequence of the Truth of his Character; which is as distant from the Humility, Charity, from the Purity and Piety of Primitive Christianity, as Christianity itself is from Paganism; as I have prov'd in this and other Treatises. The great Illegality in the Attainder of the Archbishop further appears by the Reputation of the Council who prosecuted him; among whom, we find *Mr. Samuel Brown*, who reply'd to the Archbishop's Defence; which, the Earl says, *contain'd all that need be said*. And this *Mr. Brown* had render'd himself so odious for his Reply, and carrying *Land's* Bill of Attainder to the House of Lords, that King *Charles II.* made him one of the Justices of the Court of Common Pleas, when he made the noble Historian Lord Chancellor; in which Court *Mr. Brown* sat Judge before him, as Lord Commissioner of the Great Seal; and so did Sir *John Maynard* after him, being another of the Lawyers in the Prosecution of *Land*; provok'd to it by their Antipathy to the Church, Hist. Reb. p. 572. For to imagine that Archbishop *Land* was not himself the very Church of *England*

as

as by Law established, would be a Heresy, with all the Admirers of that History, as abominable as that of the *Gnosticks* or *Manichees*.

The Actions of the Parliament were a Scandal to Pag. 574. the Christian Religion. This Reflection is just before the new-modelling of the Army; which Alteration of Measures did, to the great Scandal of Christianity, put to rout all the Parliament's Enemies. This way of Thinking is extremely sincere and natural.

When his Lordship comes to the Treaty at *Uxbridge*, he musters his Divines on each side thus.

On the King's Side.

Dr. Stuart, a Commissioner.

Dr. Sheldon, afterwards Archbishop.

Dr. Lany, afterw. Bishop.

Dr. Ferne, afterwards Bishop, &c.

On the Parliament's Side. Pag. 583.

Mr. Marshall, an *Essex* Parson.

Mr. Vines, a *Warwickshire* Parson, &c.

One may easily perceive, that the *Doctors* above-mentioned would not be brought to part with *Episcopacy*; and *Dr. Stuart* prov'd, that without *Bishops* there could be no Ordination of Ministers, and consequently no Administration of Sacraments, or Performance of the ministerial Functions; which is so plain, that it needed no Proof at all. The Ministers at *Geneva*, *Charenton*, in *Switzerland*, *Holland*, not to say in *Scotland*, where the King had abolished *Episcopacy*, had never any Ordination, and could not baptize Infants, nor administer the Lord's Supper, nor pray, nor preach, nor do any ministerial Function. How then can that be true which the Earl of *London*, Lord Chancellor of *Scotland*, said, after the Divines had been heard on both sides? Our Divines have learnedly made it appear, that *Episcopacy* has no Foundation in Scripture, Hist. Reb.

Reb. p. 587. But I shall not enter into those *fruitless Debates*, as the Earl of Loudon call'd them. One could not expect that the Doctors would have parted with a Ceremony, to have put an end to that unnatural War; nor was there greater reason to hope, that the Parliament Divines would give up their Covenant: which Matter should have been first settled as a Preliminary, or I can't see what Business so many grave Politicians had at *Uxbridge*. If there had been any Temper in the *Laudæan* Clergy, any Disposition to Moderation and Union, there never had been a Civil War; and it was not likely, that those who had blown up the Coals, would assist to the putting out of the Fire.

P. 588.

There is not the least Sophistry in the next Story, which the Earl styles a pleasant one. The Earl of Pembroke telling one of the King's Commissioners how the *Creed* came to be left out of the *Directory*, said, It was put to the Vote, Whether it should be put in? and carry'd in the *Negative* by nine Voices; which made many smile to hear that the *Creed had been put to the Question, and rejected*. The Articles of the *Creed* were not put to the Question, nor rejected; but the Vote was, Whether those Articles should be so often repeated in Divine Service, and whether they should be printed in their *Directory*?

As to the *Militia*, the Dispute was as warm, and the Matter as difficult. If the *Militia* had been left in the Parliament, there could never have been any more Grievances; and without Grievances, it was seldom known that *Courtiers* grew very rich. "Four Persons, very eminent in the Knowledge of the Law, *Lane, Gardiner, Bridgeman,* and *Palmer*, made the Demand appear to be without any Pretence of Law; and asserted it to be vested in the King by Law. The other

"side

"side never offer'd to alledge any other Argument than the Determination of the Parliament." This is one of the Passages which I desire the Reader to consider with Attention. *They never offer'd to alledge any other Argument.* *Whitlocke*, one of the Commissioners at the Treaty as well as the noble Historian, writes, *I undertook to make it out that our Law doth not positively affirm where that great Power is lodged; and I doubted not to satisfy the Commissioners fully in that Point.* We have heard what the noble Historian, who was the Commissioner that argued for the *Militia* in the King, said of the Parliament's Commissioners alledging no Reason. Let us now hear the other Commissioner against the *Militia* in the King. "The Commissioners of both Kingdoms, at their Return to their Quarters, gave *Whitlocke* Thanks for encountering *Hyde* upon the Point of Right of the *Militia*; and said, the Honour of the Parliament was concerned therein, and vindicated by him."

The *Cessation* granted the *Irish* Rebels, is a Matter of eternal Horror. It shocks the Reader now, as it did the Spectator then: yet the Earl of *Clarendon* assures us himself, *Mr. Hyde*, prov'd that *Cessation* to be just and necessary; that he put the Parliament's Commissioners out of countenance, and they could make no other Reply to him, than *We are sorry to find that the odious and detestable REBELLION had received so much Grace, as that Commissioners from it had been admitted into the King's presence; and wonder'd there should be any Scruple made of declaring that Cessation void, that was enter'd into expressly against an Act of Parliament.* The Earl says, there was no other Reply; whereas there are in *Rushworth* some Sheets of Vol. III. Paper of the Parliament's Replies; and this at last p. 897, 80 from the King's Commissioners to the Parliament's; 989.

"Your Lordships cannot expect a particular Answer from us, &c." So that the Earl had not the

N 3

last

last Word ; and indeed was very far from proving that Cessation just and necessary ; as may be seen at large in almost a hundred Folio Pages of *Rushworth's* Collections, especially p. 915. in Answer to Mr. Hyde and his Brother Commissioners insisting upon it, that the Remainder of the *English* Protestants in *Ireland* were saved by the Cessation : “ The Protestants in *Munster*, *Connaught*, and *Ulster*, who opposed this Cessation, were many of them *English* ; and both they and the *Scots* suffering as great Wants and Failure of Supplies as the Protestants in other Places, and in no better Posture for their own Defence ; notwithstanding, in a true sense of their own Duty and Conscience, they have opposed, and still do oppose the same ; neither were the *English* there neglected, as your Lordships have been misinformed, by such who labour to destroy both Nations ; and, as a means thereto, to divide them.” How Mr. Hyde put the Parliament’s Commissioners out of Countenance ! But it is observable, wherever the Chancellor of the Exchequer comes, he carries every thing before him. I do not believe there was a reasonable Creature in *England* at that time, who was not apprised of the true Reason of giving Peace to the bloody *Irish* Rebels ; which was most evidently not only to bring over the Forces that were employ’d to reduce them, but even the *Papist* Forces to reduce the *English* Parliament, who were interrupted in their zealous Endeavours to relieve their Protestant Brethren in *Ireland* by the cruel War they were engaged in, in *England*. Yet their Commissioners, in another Reply besides the above-mentioned *only one*, say, “ Our only Care, under the Blessing of God, hath been the Preservation of the *English* Protestants ; and in the Heat of our own miserable Distractions, we have continued their Sup-

Rush. p.
915.

plies,

“ plies, and from our own great Want have not spared to afford our Brethren there, the means of their Subsistence.” Thus it appears plainly, there was no necessity of granting a Cessation to those Butchers ; and that there was no Justice in it, will be seen by the Act of Parliament which obliged the King not to do it. The Lords Commissioners for the Parliament, in their Answer to the Lords Commissioners for the King, *Rushw. p. 899.* say, *It is very contrary to our Expectation to find your Lordships unsatisfy’d, after those Arguments and Reasons alledged by us.* The Earl of Clarendon informs us, they made no other Reply than as above : *That his Majesty had not Power to make that Cessation with the Rebels in Ireland ; and that upon the perusal of the Statutes, it appears not to your Lordships that his Majesty had no Power to make that Cessation.* The Statute which provided for the Security of the Subscribers for Money to carry on the War against the Rebels, enacted, That it should be made good out of the Estates of those Rebels. Further, instead of being put out of Countenance by Mr. Hyde, who, in the History, has indeed put the whole Parliament and Protestant People of *England* out of Countenance ; the Lords Commissioners for them, tell the King’s Commissioners, p. 901. “ We do conceive, that the Arguments used by us might have fully satisfied your Lordships against his Majesty’s Power to make a Cessation, having answered whatsoever your Lordships have hitherto alledged to the contrary ; and offered, if any other Doubts yet remain, by Conference to clear them : And we have heard nothing just or reasonable for that Cessation.” The Earl of Clarendon says, *he put the Commissioners visibly out of Countenance, and they made no other Reply.* All which is fair and impartial in the highest degree, according to Dr. Felton’s

N 4

Rule

Rule of Impartiality and Fairness; and I am apt to think most of our *Doctors* have no better Rule for them. *The King's Defence weigh'd down all Clamour and Calumny*; as we have seen in the preceding Pages, and shall see again.

The Shiftings, Evasions, and Denyings in the Articles of the Cessation, are evident Tokens of the Malignity in the Design of those evil Counsellors who advised it; which appears by the Letters the King wrote to the Marquiss of Ormond, *Rushw. p. 978.*

ORMOND,

“ As for Matter of Religion, tho' I have not found it fit to take publick Notice of the Paper which * *Browne* gave you, yet I must command you to give my Lord *Muskerry* and *Plunket* particular Thanks for it, assuring them that without it there could have been no Peace; and that sticking to it, their † *Nation* in general, and they in particular shall have Comfort in what they have done. And to shew that this is more than Words, I do promise them (and command you to see it done) that the penal *Statutes* against the *Roman Catholics* shall not be put in Execution.” *The Earl of Clarendon assures us there was nothing done in this Affair but what was just.* “ And further, that when the *Irish* give me that Assistance which they have promised, for the suppression of this Rebellion;” *I have said all along that the Irish Rebels were brought over to destroy the best Englishmen:* “ I will consent to the Repeal of those *Statutes* by Law. All this you must impart to none but those Three, and that with Injunction of strictest Secrecy. So again recommending to your Care the speedy dispatch of the Peace in *Ireland*, with the *Popish Rebels*, and

“ necessary Supply from thence, I rest, &c.”

We

We have read what the Earl of *Clarendon* has written of the Justice and Necessity of the Cessation; and in many places his Lordship exaggerates his own Detestation of that horrid Rebellion, as well as the King's; but even just upon the opening of the Treaty at *Uxbridge*, see what the true Intent and Inclination of the Court was, notwithstanding Mr. *Hyde's* unanswerable Arguments to prove his Majesty's Zeal for the Protestant Religion, and the Necessity and Justice of the Cessation, *Rushw. p. 978.*

ORMOND,

“ The REBELS here have agreed to treat, and most assuredly one of the first and chief Articles they will insist on, will be to continue the *Irish* War, which is a Point not popular for me to break on, of which you are to make a double Use; first, to hasten the Peace there; secondly, by dextrous conveying to the *Irish* the Danger there may be of a total Exclusion from those Favours I intend them: which I hope is sufficient ground for you to persuade the *Irish* diligently to dispatch a Peace; assuring them, that you having once fully engaged to them my Word, all the Earth shall not make me break it.

“ But not doubting of a Peace, I must again remember you to press the *Irish* for their speedy Assistance to me here; and remember, after March it will be most difficult to transport Men from *Ireland* to *England*, the REBELS being Masters of the Seas.

“ P. S. If the *Irish* Peace cannot be procured, seek to renew the Cessation.” For the *Irish* Rebels did not desire a Peace of the King, but the King desir'd a Peace of them; and the Reason of it is so plain, that it is astonishing to find People pretend to give any other Turns to it than the

true

true one, to increase the Army of Cavaliers and
 Papists in England, by Recruits from the Army of
 Pag. 595. the Popish Rebels in Ireland. His Lordship owns
 the Nation generally concurr'd with the Parliament in
 the Business of Ireland; which one Business is of
 itself enough to shew how happy this Kingdom had
 and would have been under the Direction of such
 Counsels, and the necessity of defending themselves
 against them.

When the Chancellor of the Exchequer intro-
 duces himself arguing with any one of the con-
 trary Party, he always makes his Opponent to be
 either very weak or very wicked, or both; and
 now there is a Dialogue between him and the Earl
 of Pembroke.

Pemb. "There never was such a Pack of Knaves
 " and Villains as they who now govern in Parlia-
 " ment, who would so far prevail, if the Uxbridge
 " Treaty broke off, as to remove the Earl of Essex."
 This Passage must needs be true, because Sir Thomas
 Fairfax was made General of the Parliament Army
 before the Treaty commenced at Uxbridge; Whitlocke,
 p. 120. 'Tis no matter for that; if the Treaty
 broke off, they would remove the Earl of Essex,
 and put in his Place Sir Thomas Fairfax, who was
 so placed before the Treaty began. Whitlocke
 says, the Parliament inserted Sir Thomas Fairfax's
 Name in the Self-denying Ordinance, and some
 time after debated the Safe-Conduct for the King's
 Commissioners, p. 121. So that the Dialogue
 must be Word for Word as it is continued in the
 History of the Rebellion.

Pemb. "And then those Knaves and Villains
 " would constitute such an Army, as should force
 " the Parliament, as well as the King, to consent
 " to whatsoever they demanded." It happens,
 that not only the General was made before the
 opening of the Treaty, but the very Army too
 was

was constituted. *Whitl. p. ib. The Ordinance for
 raising and maintaining Forces under Sir Thomas
 Fairfax was sent up to the Lords, and some Time
 after, the Commissioners for Uxbridge Treaty had
 their first Meeting, p. 122.*

Pemb. "Which would end in the Change of
 " the Government into a Common-Wealth."

Hyde. *If you believe that, it is high Time for the
 Lords to look about them; you will be then no less con-
 cern'd than the King.*

Pemb. "'Tis true, we are now sensible, that
 " we have brought this Mischief upon ourselves,
 " and do heartily repent, tho' too late, and we
 " are in no degree able to prevent the general
 " Destruction which we foresee." I refer the
 Reader to p. 596. for the rest; it being of a na-
 ture not easy to be conceiv'd, nor delighted in:
 'Twas very probable the Earl of Pembroke would
 talk after that rate; and the Probability of it is
 the more apparent, for that he afterwards submit-
 ted to be chosen a Member of the House of Com-
 mons, and to sit, and to be there, as he had for-
 merly done in the House of Lords.

The King's Commissioners delivered in a Paper
 to the Parliament's at the last Conference; where-
 in 'twas said, *that more had been offer'd to them for* Pag. 600.
*the obtaining Peace, than they could with Justice or
 Reason require. Whitlocke, contrary to this, p. 128.*
*Not one of the Parliament's Propositions was grant-
 ed by the King, during the whole Time of the Treaty.*
 "Thus ended the Treaty of Uxbridge, the Parti-
 " culars whereof were by the King's Command
 " shortly after publish'd in Print, and never con-
 " tradicted by the Parliament;" *Hist. Reb. p. 601.*
*Whitlocke, p. 130. The Parliament's Commis-
 sioners for the Treaty of Uxbridge, came to the Com-
 mon Hall in London, and acquainted the City with
 the Proceedings of that Treaty, and of the A-
 verseness*

verfeness on the King's Side to come to a Cloſure of Peace; ſo that now it was of Neceſſity for their own Defence, to furniſh out the Army under Sir *Thomas Fairfax*.

The Truth is, the Delinquents who hung upon the Court at *Oxford*, and were ſure to be brought to Juſtice by the Parliament, would not let the King give the leaſt ground in the Articles about Biſhops, *Militia*, and *Ireland*; and the Parliament could have no Security without the *Militia*. But I'm ſatisfy'd *Episcopacy* and *Ireland* would have been given up, if the Article of the *Militia* could have been digeſted. *Episcopacy* had been given up in *Scotland* by the King, and his Maſteſty would have been eaſily prevail'd upon to have left the War in *Ireland* to the Parliament, if the Power of undoing every thing that ſhould be done were left to him; which

Pag. 592.

Power conſiſted in the *Militia*. His Lordſhip tells us, the King's Commiſſioners talk'd with a little more Sharpneſs; and well they might, eſpecially thoſe of them, particularly Mr. *Hyde*, who were to expect no Pardon!

"The King never imagin'd that it would enter "into their Thoughts to take away his Life;" and then comes the moſt handſome Compliment to the *House of Lords*, and *House of Commons*; "not that "he believ'd they could be reſtrain'd from that "impious Act by any Remorſe of Conſcience, or "that they had not Wickedneſs to deſign and execute it." A Company of Highway-men, Houſe-Breakers, and Pick-Pockets could not have expected worſe Language, yet his Lordſhip himſelf had ſaid before, *The major Part of the Parliament*

Part I.

pag. 184.

conſiſted of Men, who, tho' they were undevoted enough to the Court, had all imaginable Duty for the King, and no mind to break the Peace of the Kingdom, or to make any conſiderable Alteration in the Government of the Church. But theſe Men of Honour became ſo corrupted

rupted by aſſerting the Rights and Liberties of their Country, that no Words can be bad enough for them.

The *Ceſſation* in *Ireland* gave the greateſt Offence of any one thing, which happen'd during the War; the Pretence that it was to ſave the Remainder of the Proteſtants there, was abſurd and ridiculous, or rather an open Inſult on the Underſtandings of the *Engliſh*. For it was as well known as that there had been a Maſſacre, that thoſe Proteſtants who ſurviv'd that Slaughter defended themſelves with incredible Bravery and Succeſs: and even now, that Mr. *Hyde* made the Parliament's Commiſſioners ſo aſham'd of their Arguments againſt this *Ceſſation* meerly on Account of the Neceſſity of it for that End, the Lord *Inchiqueen*, the Lord *Brogbill*, and others, wrote to the Parliament, that they had driven the Rebels out of moſt part of the Port-Towns in *Munſter*, that many conſiderable Places there had declar'd for the Parliament, and that thoſe Lords had 12000 Men in Arms for the Parliament's Service. They alſo ſent over a Declaration of the Proteſtants in *Ireland* againſt the *Ceſſation*, which the Earl of *Clarendon* tells us he prov'd to be the only means to preſerve them.

At the ſame time that his Lordſhip values the Royal Cauſe on the Wiſdom, Sobriety and Honour of the Counſellors at the Head of it; the Counſels appear ſo raſh, and ſo ill-grounded, that they are viſibly themſelves the Proof of the contrary. The main Inducement for the ſeparating the Prince of *Wales* from the King, was a Petition from the Gentry, Clergy, and Free-holders of the County of *Somerſet* to put themſelves in Arms, if the Parliament would not make Peace. The King thought he might draw that whole Populous County to appear for him, and the Style of their Addreſs was *One and All, Hiſt. Reb. p. 603.* forgetting,

Sir

Whitlocke,
pag. 93.

Sir William Portman. Col. Ceely.
 Sir John Horner. Col. Blake.
 Sir John Seymour. Mr. Harrington.
 Sir Thomas Wroth. Mr. Walker.
 Sir Edward Hungerford. Mr. Serle.
 Alexander Popham, Esq; Mr. Ash.
 Edward Popham, Esq; Mr. Palmer.
 Col. Pyne. Mr. Coles.
 Col. Bragg. Mr. Syms, &c.
 Most of them Members of Parliament, as appears
 by this Vote in Sir John Stawell's Memoirs.

Ordered,
 " That Mr. Palmer, Mr. Walker, Mr. Harrington,
 " Mr. Serle, Sir Thomas Wroth, Mr. Blake,
 " and Col. Popham, or any two of them, do take
 " care that there be a Prosecution and Indictment
 " prepared against Sir John Stawell.

Part II.
 p. 8.

What part Sir William Portman acted in this Quarrel, is mentioned elsewhere; yet these Gentlemen are some of the *One and All* of that *whole populous County*; which is otherwise spoken of in other Parts of the *History of the Rebellion*. "Tho' the Gentlemen of antient Families in that County were for the most part well-affected, yet there were a People of an inferiour Degree; who by good Husbandry, Clothing, and other thriving Arts, got themselves into the Gentlemen's Estates: these were fast Friends to the Parliament." Notwithstanding all this, the King's Counsellors at Oxford did believe that the *Somersetshire* Petitioners were the *One and All*; and by their Advice the Prince of Wales was made General of the West. This hopeful Petition was drawn up for Sir John Stawell, just mention'd, by Mr. Fountaine, a Lawyer of Eminency, who had been imprisoned for his Affection to the Crown, Hist. Reb. p. 604. This Fountaine was imprison'd for refusing to pay Contributions to the Charge of the War, as Whitlocke

locke writes, p. 60. He and many others refused, and again assisted on both sides, as they saw the Wind to blow. And he prov'd himself to have great Affection for the King, by joining with Mr. Scot, afterwards hang'd as a Commonwealth's Man, to introduce General Fleetwood into the House of Commons as Knight of the Shire for Bucks; the same Fleetwood whom the Earl of Clarendon calls a Trooper. Whitl. p. 186.

We have a new Account of the Rise of Montrose's Depredations in Scotland, and that is the Correspondence between him and the Popish Earl of Antrim, who came from the Irish Rebels to Oxford. Antrim being engaged in a Design to send some of those Rebels to Scotland to join Montrose, in hopes of recovering the Highlands in possession of the House of Campbell, because he was the Head of the Mackdonels; his Lordship leaves it to Genealogists to determine the Superiority of the Mackdonels to the Campbells, and we must do the same. But so it is, the 1500 Irish sent over by Antrim to Montrose, were the first Forces he commanded against the Covenanters: Himself being one of the first Peers in Scotland that took the Covenant.

The King always resolved to preserve so venerable a Place as OXFORD from Sacrilege, Hist. Reb. p. 620. To carry off a Burden from the Hedge of a Glebe, is Sacrilege; to demolish an old Monkish Missal, is also Sacrilege; and the Leaders in Parliament, as Selden, Whitlocke, &c. were such Enemies to Learning, that it was feared if the Parliament's Army had taken Oxford, they would have sold the Bodleian Library to Trunkmakers and Grocers. I have read somewhere in a French Author, that Oliver Cromwell committed Sacrilege in both Oxford and Cambridge, by burning every Book he could lay his Hands on; tho' in truth Oliver did encourage Learning and Men of Letters. Nay, his very

Offi-

Officers were so fond of them, that Colonel *Pride* the Cöbler would not be satisfy'd without being made a Master of Arts; as we read in *A. Wood*.

Sir *John Horham* and his Son being condemn'd to be beheaded for plotting to deliver up *Hull* to the King, the noble Historian tells us, it was an Act of *Divine Justice*, for his not delivering it up before, p. 620. and the immediate Hand of *Almighty God*. How sure should one be of the Truth and Justice of a Thing, when that tremendous Name is made use of? Will it suffer any Mixture of Passion or Interest, of Malice or Revenge? To say the immediate Hand of God was in the Death of these Gentlemen, when it is own'd there was Evidence enough against them, p. 621. is a way of Thinking and Speaking which I do not understand. The two Parties had appeal'd to the Sword: they could not subsist without Discipline; and to betray a Trust, is equally Treason to the Persons from whom you received that Trust, let the Party be what it will. Common Justice and common Sense teach this; and the noble Historian knew it a thousand times better than I: which occasions a melancholy Reflection on the confounding the Judgments of the Almighty with Ambition, Avarice, Vanity, or Resentment.

We have already mention'd the hanging up twelve Clothiers by way of Reprisal for twelve *Irish* Rebels; and his Lordship informs us, Prince *Rupert* hung up Men on the Parliament side for twelve *Irishmen*, not Rebels. The *English* Protestants are the REBELS, the GRAND REBELS; the *Irish* Papists are only *Irishmen*: A further Instance of the Impartiality and Sincerity of the *History of the Rebellion*. The Parliament wrote a rude Letter to the Prince upon it, p. 623. but he valued it not a Fig; he answer'd them as rudely, p. 624.

The

The Introduction at the beginning of the IXth Book, is intended to derive all the Misfortunes in the following Year, on the part of the King, from the Weakness or Inconstancy of Counsel, and not from the Superiority of Power or Genius on the part of the Parliament. The Truth is, the Counsels at *Oxford* were as full of Distraction as those at *Westminster*: And how could it be otherwise? What was it which brought so many Noblemen and Gentlemen thither, but the hopes of Preferments and Honours; and the Impatience or Despair of possessing them, must necessarily create Uneasinesses? Can one imagine that Sir *Richard Greenville*, *Wilmot*, *Goring*, *Oneile*, Nephew to the Head of the *Irish* Rebels, and other chief Men at *Oxford*, had really any Concern for the Protestant Church of *England*, or that such lawless Men had at heart the Defence of our Laws? What must it be then, that put them in Arms, but the Expectation of Places, Pensions, and Titles, to which the Hearts of Courtiers eternally gravitate? and when they come slowly, or are not likely to come, the Consequence will always be Disquiet, Disgust, and Uncertainty in thinking and acting; which I humbly conceive to be the true Turn of the Argument that swells the History so many Pages, 625, & seq.

"The Earl of *Essex* made no haste to surrender his Commission, says the Lord Clarendon; so that some Men imagined he would have contested it. In the end it was agreed, that at a Conference of both Houses in the painted Chamber, he should deliver his Commission." This is to shew how rashly and unadvisedly the Parliament proceeded in making Sir *Thomas Fairfax* General, who beat the Cavaliers wherever he met them. The Earl of *Essex* seems to have made great haste; for on the first of April, "The

O

"Lords

Pag. 629.

"Lords consented to the Ordinance for Sir Thomas Fairfax's Commission": And the very next day, April 2. the Earl of Essex, the Earls of Manchester and Denbigh in the House of Peers offer'd to lay down their Commissions, *Whitlocke*, p. 134. The noble Historian informs us, the Earl of Essex deliver'd a Paper at the Conference, wherein he declared, *With what Affection and Fidelity he had serv'd them; and as he had often ventur'd his Life for them, so he would willingly have lost it in their Service; and since they believ'd that what they had more to do, would be better perform'd by another Man, he submitted to their Judgment, and restored their Commission to them, hoping they would find an abler Servant; concluding with some Expressions, which made it manifest, that he did not think he had been well used, or that they would be the better for the change. Which is all contrary in Sense and Phrase to Whitlocke's Relation of this Matter, p. 134. The Earl's Paper was read to this Effect; "That he having been employ'd for almost three Years past as General of all the Parliament's Forces, which Charge he had endeavoured to perform with all Fidelity and Sedulity; yet considering, by the Ordinance lately brought up, that it would be advantageous to the Publick; the Lord Clarendon tells us, he thought it would not be advantageous: "he desir'd to lay down his Commission, and freely to render it into the Hands of those from whom he receiv'd it.—The giving up of their Commissions at this time was declared by both Houses, to be an acceptable Service, and a Testimony of the Fidelity and Care those three Lords had of the Publick; and the Commons appointed a Committee to consider of gratifying the Lord General, and the Earls of Manchester and Denbigh, for their faithful Services, and hazarding their Lives and*

For

"Fortunes for the Publick." What follows, proves the good Temper in which the Earl of Essex deliver'd up his Battoon. "Some of his Friends were against his laying down his Commission; but others told him, that *Mischiefs and Contests might arise if he kept it; whereof himself was sensible: and as he had a great Stoutness of Spirit, so he had great Goodness of Nature and Love to the Publick, which persuaded him to lay down his Commission.*" *Where is the wishing them an abler Servant! Where the Signs that he thought himself ill used! Where his Doubt of the ill Consequence!*

The Parliament and the Earl were in so good Humour with one another, that they gave him 10000 Pounds a Year; and he accepted of the first Commissioner's Place in the Admiralty, *Whitlocke*, p. 137.

"The Officers whom Fairfax and Cromwell placed in the Army were known to no body but Cromwell."

Sir Michael Livesey,	Col. Berkley,	Whitl. p. 132.
Sir Robert Pye,	Col. Sheffield,	
Lieut Gen. Fleetwood,	Col. Pickering,	
Col. Sydney,	Col. Fortescue, &c.	
Col. Montague,		

As good Names as any in the Kingdom, were known to no body but Oliver. I humbly desire to know, Whether this is in the Sobriety of History, or not; of which we read so much in that of the Rebellion.

We have observed already, what the One and All of the County of Somerset was; and, p. 633. Pag. 633. the Earl owns, that Sir John Stawell and Mr. Fountaine acted without any Concurrence from the rest. Yet these are the Men of Wisdom, as well as the Men of Honour. And we are afterwards told,

told, that Sir John Stawell was against all the Rest,
Pag. 639. still for the One and All.

Goring, who was not born to do his Country Service, Hist. Reb. p. 651. is brought out of the West to drive General Fairfax and General Cromwell before him. P. 649. "He fell upon a Horse-Quarter of Cromwell's, and another Party of Fairfax's Horse, so prosperously, that he broke and defeated them with a great Slaughter; which gave him great Reputation." And if he had in reality put these two Generals to the rout, his Renown would have deservedly made him famous. But there is not a Syllable of this in *Whitlocke*. Instead of it, we read, p. 138. "Lieutenant General Cromwell fell upon a Party of the King's Horse, and part of the Queen's Regiment near Oxford, where Goring defeated him, and took of them 400 Horse 200 Prisoners, whereof many Officers and Gentlemen of Quality, and the Queen's own Colours; the rest fled to *Bletchington*, where Colonel *Windebank* kept a Garrison for the King. Lieutenant General Cromwell pursued them thither, and after some Treaty took the House, &c." Again, p. 139. "Lieutenant General Cromwell at *Bampton-Bush* fell upon another Party of the King's, surpriz'd them all, and took Colonel Sir Henry Morgan, two Lieutenant Colonels, Dr. *Dunce*, about 300 Officers and Soldiers, in those very Quarters near the *Isis* where he was routed by General *Goring*; who being sent back into the West, it is said, IF he had been born to serve his Country, his Preference might have been of great Use.

Hist. Reb. By Break of Day, the King's Army enter'd the Line
Pag. 653. at Leicester; then the Governour, Sir Robert Pye, and all the Officers and Soldiers, to the Number of 1200, threw down their Arms. Such sorry, dastardly Rascals were the Parliament's Soldiers.

Whit-

Whitlocke says, "Some of those within the Town betray'd one of the Gates; the King's Forces entering it, there was a hot Encounter in the Market-Place, and many of them were slain by Shot out of the Windows. They gave no Quarter, but hang'd up some of the Committee, and cut others in pieces: Some Letters said, the Kennels ran with Blood. Col. *Gray*, the Governour, was wounded and taken Prisoner, and very many of the Garrison put to the Sword, and the Town miserably plunder'd." It appears elsewhere, that the Committee-Men had not their Throats cut; but several Women were put to the Sword, *Whitl.* p. 144. turn'd Women and Children naked into the Streets, and ravish'd many. They hang'd Mr. Raynor and Mr. Sawyer, in cold Blood; and murder'd Mrs. Barlow, a Minister's Wife, and her Children. These Rapes, Massacres, Robberies, &c. are not related as surprizing things in the Royal Army; but here they are the more strange, because his Majesty in Person was present. The Excuse is, The Town was generally disaffected, p. 653. The Town was taken purely by an Act of Courage, *ibid.* Such as entering a Gate which was betray'd to them; and, as every thing of this kind always did, It struck wonderful Terror into the Hearts of the Lords and Commons, *ibid.* If the Parliament's Forces are at any time worsted, the two Houses are immediately dying of a Panic. Their Enemies were so often beaten, it was no Novelty; they were so used to it, 'twas become familiar to them. The Parliament cur'd their Model. What follows, is worth Remark. They said, the King's Army had been in the Field but twenty Days, and in that short time had reduced two strong Garrisons of theirs; Hawkesly-House in Worcester-shire, and the Town of Leicester. Not a word of *Whitl.* p. General Massey's taking the Town of *Exvesham* by 142.

Storm, with the loss but of five Soldiers; Col. Legg was there taken with 50 Officers, 500 common Soldiers, and store of Arms and Ammunition. Not a word of Cromwell's taking Bletchington, with Col. Windebank the Governour, who, for his Cowardise, was shot to death, &c. Again, *Whilst* their new General had only faced Oxford at a distance, to try whether the Ladies would prevail for the giving up of the Town to pacify their Fears, and had attempted to take a poor House that lay near Borsfal-House, and had been beaten from thence with considerable Loss, very little to his Honour. Here's sober History with a Vengeance! He only faced Oxford at a distance. *Whilst* His Guards were within twice Musket-shot of the Works of Oxford. He was driven from a poor House, *Hist. Reb.* The King's Forces, upon seeing Fairfax at a distance, fir'd the Suburbs, burnt a Corn-Mill, and a Garrison at Wolvercot, and intended to have burnt the Towns round about; but that Sir Thomas Fairfax's Forces possess'd them. That as he was viewing the Works within twice Pistol-shot, a Cannon-Bullet came near him, *Whilst*. He drew off from Borsfal-House, *Hist. Reb.* He block'd up Borsfal-House, *Whilst*. One cannot but be confounded at the reading such Passages, especially in Disparagement of two Generals, who, within two or three days, are to obtain the most glorious Victory over the King's victorious Armies. Of what use is the noble Historian's triumphing thus at this Juncture, when a Week hardly passes before there is scarce a Man left in the Field of all the invincible Cavaliers? And the Battel of Naseby decided the Appeal the two Parties had made to the Sword. *The Parliament exceedingly desired Peace, Hist. Reb. 654.* But how and for what, does not indeed appear in that History, or any other; unless it is in a Petition to the Parliament from the City of London, "That Recruits may be had for Sir Tho. Fairfax's Army,

"Army, and that it may be order'd to fight the Enemy, and regain Leicester, &c." *Whitlocke, p. 143.*

Every body believed that Fairfax's Army was much dispirited by leaving Oxford to march after the King; and by blocking up Borsfal-House, and not staying to take it, *p. 655.* and that his Army was led out of the way, in order to be in the way of the King's so victorious Troops, who was order'd to find them out while their Fear was yet upon them. *Whilst. p. 144.* informs us, Sir Thomas Fairfax march'd after the King, and was resolved to engage his Army, if they would stand. What an IF that was? Why, they were seeking him out, *Hist. Reb.* and that within six Miles of him, *Whilst. p. ib.* They fought for him in a quiet Posture at Daintree, without knowing where he was for the space of five days; at last, while the Fear was yet upon Fairfax's Army, and the King's Army wanted to find him out, News came that Fairfax was advancing: whereupon this Majesty retir'd, *Hist. Reb. p. 655.* The King's Soldiers had always an immoderate Appetite to fight, *p. ib.* and therefore, tho' they had retir'd, like People in Fencing, 'twas only to advance again with fresh Vigour, *p. ib.* The Army was drawn up on a rising Ground, *p. ib.* This History is sober to an Extremity. *The Rebels were much superior in Number, ib.* *Whilst.* There were not 500 odds on either side, *p. 145.* The King's Foot, according to their usual Custom; for you must know the Parliament's Foot did not know how to fight; falling in with their Swords and the Butt-ends of their Muskets, with which they did very notable Execution. If they do any thing, it is always notably. *Whitlocke* appears the fairer in his Relation, for that he leaves out according to their usual Custom; and says, "During which, the main Bodies had charged one another with incredible Fierceness," often

“often retreating and rallying, falling in together
 “with the Butt-end of their Mulquets, and
 “coming to Hand-blows with their Swords.”
 He does not exaggerate the Matter, that the
Execution they did was notable; it being to be sup-
 pos’d that it could not be otherwise in a Battle so
 resolutely fought by *Englisbmen*, whose Number
 on both sides did not amount to 30000; yet I be-
 lieve they could not have been stop’d by a much
 greater Number on any Ground in the World;
 and it is much to be lamented, that such Valour
 had not been employ’d against any Enemy, but
Englisbmen against *Englisbmen*.

After the Rout at *Naseby*, was taken, among o-
 ther things, the *King’s* own Cabinet, where his most
 secret Papers were, and Letters between the Queen and
 him, of which the Parliament shortly after made that
 barbarous Use as was agreeable to their *Natures*, being
 all *Hottentots* and *Cannibals*; they publish’d them in
 Print. Is it not pleasant to see these Gentlemen
 railing at the Parliament, for not treating with
 more Decorum a Princess whom they had attaint-
 ed of *High Treason*, and who was very active in
 her Endeavours to arm, not only this Nation, but
 others for their Destruction? The King and the
 two Houses had been at War several Years; the
 Parliament had broke open his Towns and Castles,
 but they must not break open his Letters, which
 do as much Mischief in War, sometimes, as
 Swords and Muskets.

The Truth is, and so very plain a Truth, that
 I wonder these Gentlemen should disguise it with
 any Hopes of Success, the subject Matters of those
 Letters were not so much Conjugal Privacies,
 which Decency would forbid to be made publick,
 as a secret Correspondence concerning the Affairs
 of the War, with which it very much behov’d the
 Parliament to acquaint themselves and their
 Friends;

Friends; especially since the Contents prov’d be-
 yond question, what had so often been suspected,
 that there was too great Intelligence between the
 King and the *Papists*.

Had it not been fair, when the Parliament was
 call’d so many Scoundrels for printing those Let-
 ters, to have told us what was in them, as in that
 of the 15th of February 1644-5. about the *Uxbridge*
 Treaty.

Thou needst not doubt the Issue of this Treaty, for my
Commissioners are so well chosen, though I say it, that
they will neither be threaten’d nor disputed from the
Grounds I have given them. We shall now learn who
 it was that concerted the Injunctions to those Com-
 missioners, which upon my Word is according to the
 little Note thou so well remembrest.

But tho’ I have all the Letters before me, I shall
 content myself with an Extract out of *Coke*. He vol. I. p.
 declared his Intentions to “make peace with the 385.
 “*Irish*, and to have 40000 of them over into Eng-
 “land, to prosecute the War.” And in other Let-
 ters he complain’d, “he could not prevail with his
 “*Mongrel Parliament* at *Oxford* to vote that the
 “Parliament at *Westminster* was not a lawful Par-
 “liament. Again, that he would not make Peace
 “with the Rebels (*the Parliament*) without her
 “Approbation, nor go one jot from the Paper
 “she sent him; that in the Treaty at *Uxbridge* he
 “did not positively own the Parliament, it being
 “otherwise to be construed, tho’ they were so sim-
 “ple as not to find it out.” And much of the
 like Tendency, which shew’d that little Depen-
 dence was to be made on Treaties that were
 to be vacated and deny’d, when it could be
 done with Safety. Are these Letters genuine?
 they never were doubted to be otherwise. Is
 what we there read true? How then could the King
 or the Queen be aspers’d, as the Earl declares?
 Had

Pag. 658. Had there been any thing done, the Report of which would be an Asperſion? No, certainly, all Counſels on that Side were infallible; and to lay a blemiſh on them, by publiſhing the Truth, is agreeable to the barbarous Natures of the Houſe of Peers, and Houſe of Commons. Thus is the Sobriety of Hiſtory continu'd to us.

Pag. ib. *I ſhall not ſtay, ſays his Lordſhip, to mention the Names of thoſe noble Perſons, who were loſt in this Battle, when the King and the Kingdom were loſt in it: England was never heard of afterwards, till a Year or two after the Reſtoration; when the Earl of Clarendon procur'd an Act to repeal the Triennial Bill, and eſtabliſh a Bill for Uniformity. There were above 150 Officers and Gentlemen of Prime Quality dead upon the Spot, and whoſe Memories ought to be preſerv'd; as Sir Peter Brown, a Papiſt; Lieutenant Col. Sayr, another Papiſt; Major Markham, Major Rively, &c. all Roman Catholicks, as they were then ſtil'd, Papiſts being a diſcarded Term, on account of the Offence it gave to thoſe of the Religion.*

Pag. 654. *The Parliament's Soldiers in the Purſuit kill'd above a hundred Women, whereof ſome were the Wives of Officers of Quality. This is ſo very probable, that methinks I ſee them firing their Blunderbuſſes at their Ladyſhips; Officers of Quality do generally carry their Ladies about with them in Baggage-Waggons, eſpecially where there's likelihood of a Battle: But there is a Sort of Quality-Women, who chuſe to be in the Camp at that Time, to be at hand, if there is any Stripping-Work a-foot: Your Gentlewomen of Ireland, ſuch as came over after the Ceſſation, were very likely to follow the Army, for the ſake of the Plunder and good Fellowship. And ſo it proves, Whitlocke telling us, p. 146. A hundred Iriſh Women were taken. I think not to take notice of any more Iſ's; tho' they*
flow

flow in upon us to the End of the Hiſtory, for one Iſ may ſerve for all; Iſ the King had had any more Armies in the Field, Iſ they would have fought better than thoſe of the Parliament, Iſ the Houſe of Lords and Houſe of Commons had been ſo much in the King's Power, as he was in their's; they might have been glad to have run to the Scots Army for Shelter, as his Maſteſty was ſoon oblig'd to do.

The long Account of the Affairs in the *Weſt*, were doubtleſs the leſs tedious in his Lordſhip's Narration, for that himſelf was a main Counſellor and Agent; but to Standers-by, who love Action and Intrigue, it will be perhaps more tireſome: only I cannot help admiring how it came about that when Sir Richard Greenville had hang'd up a Lawyer, who had been employ'd in a Suit againſt him, Pag. 668. when he own'd it, and made a Jeſt of it, his Judges, of whom Sir Edward Hyde was one, had not ſerv'd him as Sir Richard ſerv'd the Lawyer; but there has been a Set of Men in *England* ever ſince the Death of Queen Elizabeth, who have hardly made War ſucceſſfully, or argued powerfully, with any other Weapon or Argument than the Gallows.

About the Beginning of July, Sir Thomas Fairfax enter'd Somerſetſhire, and General Goring thought it convenient to draw off; but General Fairfax thought it convenient to follow him, and fight him at *Lamport*, where General Goring found ſtill a greater Convenience in ſcampering. This is a New Way of Hiſtorical Narration, with which being enamour'd, I was tempted to imitate it; but am under no manner of Temptation to follow the Noble Hiſtorian into *Devonſhire* and *Cornwall*, where he attends the Prince, and is in great Hopes of putting a Stop to General Fairfax's Conqueſts with the *Cornish Militia*, who appear'd very chearful while Sir
Thomas

Thomas was at *Bristol*, and resolv'd to fight him when he came to *Tiverton*. 'Tis very faithful in the Noble Historian to record these Actions and Resolutions, tho' they add so little to the Reputation of the Agents.

When we were told of the Defeat of the Earl of *Essex* in *Cornwall*, the Consequence was his sending to desire a Treaty; whereas we have related what Arts were used to oblige them to desire it. Now Sir *Thomas* is advanc'd against the Lord *Hopton* in the same County, it was occasion'd by the Importunity of the Officers and Soldiers, *Hopton* being very eager to fight that victorious Army if they would have stood by him, and Sir *Thomas Fairfax* was so afraid to fight them, that he wrote a Letter to the Lord *Hopton* offering a Treaty; which his Lordship scorn'd, and would fain have had a Battle for it, instead of which, the Soldiers would treat, and their Horse mingled every Day with the Parliament's Horse without any Act of Hostility. In this Streight the Lord *Hopton* sent his Ammunition and Foot into *Pendennis* and the *Mount*, declaring he would neither treat for himself nor the Garrisons; but gave his Horse leave to treat, which, according to this Relation, they would have done without it. Thus we see how full they are of Disdain, even in the Extremity of Distress; they are like so many *Nassaus*, they are all for dying in the last Dyke; but however they sometimes take Wit in their Anger, and General *Fairfax* having summon'd the Lord *Hopton*, whom he had just beaten at *Torrington*, to lay down his Arms, a Trumpet brought an Answer from his Lordship, implying, as we read in *Whitlocke*, "a Willingness to treat, to end the Business of the West without Blood; but so little did any of these Gentlemen know what was done at *Westminster*, that he desir'd to be inform'd whe-

"ther

"ther the King and Parliament be not near to a Conclusion of Peace, that he being intrusted, may be careful of the King's Honour." Thus it was not his Horse that sent to General *Fairfax*, but himself; a Treaty is set on foot, and in the mean time the General advanc'd to quicken their peaceable Inclinations. Instead of sending the Arms and Ammunition to *Pendennis*; the first Article of the Treaty was, That the Lord *Hopton's* Army should be presently disbanded, and his Horse, Arms and Ammunition, Artillery, Bag and Baggage be deliver'd up to Sir *Thomas Fairfax*; *Whitl.* p. 203. So the Lord *Hopton* surrender'd near 3000 Horse, and Major General *Skippon* with 2400 only broke thro' the King's Army in the same County, disdaining indeed to come to a Treaty.

"The King's Faithful Counsellors and Servants stuck to him to the End, and if they were not able to give him Assistance to stem the mighty Torrent, that over-bore both him and them, paid him still the Duty that was due to him, and gave him no Vexation, when they could not give him Comfort." They stuck to him because they had nothing else to stick to; the Parliament had proscribed most of them, and their Care to preserve themselves kept their Master, by their Advice, from taking due Care of his own Preservation. Why is this dutiful Behaviour of theirs so much applauded? Who had ever charged them with vexing the King? Was it not the Consciousness of the Vexation they gave him, which occasion'd this Applause, so little deserv'd, that his Enemies could not have used him worse? As illustrious as his Lordship's Character is for Dignity, Genius, and Eloquence, I am about to oppose to him a Name at least every whit as illustrious, and that is Mr. *Locke*, who writes thus, as he is quoted in *M. Des Maizeaux's* Collections, p. 141. The

Treatment

Treatment he met from his Followers at Oxford made it an hard, but almost an even Choice to be the Parliament's Prisoner, or their Slave. I beg to be inform'd, whether Insincerity and Partiality are Terms strong enough to express the Misrepresentation here, and whether it is possible for two Facts to be more contrary to one another.

The Prince of Wales been having prevail'd upon to write a Letter to Sir Thomas Fairfax, for a Pass for Hopton and Colepepyr to go to the King, to persuade him to comply with the Parliament, *Whitl. p. 187. the Earl of Clarendon, p. 688. assures us there was such a Design in some about the Prince, but he was with great difficulty diverted from it; instead of which, it is probable Sir Thomas Fairfax's Answer to his Letter diverted him from it. Whitl. p. ib. he wrote very respectfully to the Prince, and advis'd him to disband his Army, as the best Way for him, his Posterity and Friends; which, if he would do, Sir Thomas himself would safely convey him to the Parliament.*

When the King was almost at the lowest Ebb of his Fortune in the Civil War, and after the Overtures he had made in two Messages had been rejected by the Parliament, his Counsellors advis'd him to try a third Message, *which should contain nothing but a Resentment.* It is needless to remember that those Counsellors were by much the wisest Heads in the Nation, as we are told in a hundred Places of the History of the Rebellion. If the Difficulties his Majesty lay under had made any Impression on them, they would certainly have given him better Counsel than to resent, when his Messages were so little minded; and if the Leaders in Parliament had now enter'd upon moderate Counsels, no doubt their Wisdom might have provided for their Security in such manner as the King would

would have consented to, and this Juncture, before Spirits had been further inflamed, was a happy one to have procur'd a lasting Settlement: When the King was a Prisoner, all Treaty was Force, and could not have been carry'd on with so good a Grace as while he had yet the Sword in his Hand. I doubt not some thoughtless malicious People will take me all along for as errant a Republican as Algernon Sydney; but they judge in that as wildly, as in their other Cavalier Sentiments: thus far an Englishman might have gone with Discretion and Innocence, but as soon as the Civil Power was trampled under foot by the Military, the Parliament of England put under a Force, and the Soldiery took on them to give Law both to King and Parliament, the Constitution suffer'd Shipwreck, and nothing could be expected from it, but the Confusion which follow'd, and which very often follows at the winding up of Civil Wars. Yet the Corruption of a good thing is no Argument that the thing was not good, and the Defence of the People's just Rights, and the bringing Delinquents to Justice, was a Cause which none but so extensive a Genius, and so flowing Oratory as the Lord Clarendon's, could have pictured with so much Deformity. It must be own'd, that his Majesty's Offer to settle the Militia in such Persons as should be acceptable to them, *Hist. Reb. p. 744.* was a sure Way to Peace, if the Time had been lengthen'd till the Animosities were forgotten, and the People's Rights were secur'd on a sound Bottom.

The Treaty the King commenc'd with the Scots was the more hopeful, for that he had something extraordinary to offer them for their Security; Monsieur Montrevil having Authority from the Queen Regent at Paris to engage the Faith of France for the Performance of whatsoever the King

King should promise, *Hist. Reb.* p. 747. But there is something still more extraordinary in p. 751. where we are told the King found out a Conspiracy between the *Roman Catholics* and *Presbyterians* against the Church.



C H A P.



C H A P. V.

Remarks on the History of the REBELLION. Vol. III. Part I.

THE Noble Historian knew perfectly well what was the indispensable Duty of such as write History, and teaches it in many Places. *I have proceeded with too much Simplicity and Sincerity, Vol. II. Pt. II. Again, Vol. III. Pt. I. The Love of Truth ought in common Honesty to be preserv'd in History, as the very Soul of it, towards all Persons who come to be mentioned in it.* If so to all Persons, much more so to all great Bodies of Men, which cannot be so compos'd, but there must be some of less Merit and less Virtue than others. Yet the Earl lumps all the Independents in *England* under the wild Denomination of Libertines, Atheists, Fanaticks, and Hereticks, scarce any Man being call'd in question for delivering any Opinion in Religion, by speaking or writing, how prophane, heretical or blasphemous soever it was: And then comes another Jest, a Fellow to that of seeking God, which they said was to restrain the Spirit. I shall not make use of an Author who favour'd Independency, but a rigid Opposer of it, Mr. Baxter, who thus describes those blasphemous, heretical, and prophane Wretches, *Dr. Calam. Life of Baxt.* p. 112. "As for the Independents, he found

P

"most

"most of them zealous, and many of them learned, discreet and pious, capable of being very serviceable to the Church, searching Scripture and Antiquity," for Prophaneness, Heresy, and Blasphemy. Then as to their Principles of Church-Government, Baxter said Archbishop Usher was a kind of Independent, telling him, *that every Bishop was independent as to Synods, and Synods not so much for Government as for Concord.* The Truth is, the Licence of the Civil War made a Military Rabble, wanton with Success, start out into strange Notions of Religion, which was Matter of Complaint among both Presbyterians and Independents; upon this, Dr. Calamy writes thus soberly and truly, "Never could the World be told more loudly, whither the Spiritual Pride of ungrounded Novices in Religion, tendeth, and whither they may be carry'd in the Stream of Sects and Factions. Often would the Ranters vent the most horrid Oaths as the Effect of Knowledge in the fanatick Strain, which they would father upon the Spirit." This pretended Inspiration, with its Accomplishes, Blasphemy, Prophaneness and Heresy, does the Earl father upon the Independents. As these are so hardly call'd in the History, those that were for high Episcopacy, and asserted it to be the Church of Christ, are every where in the same History term'd the *Learned* and the *Pious*. Nay, such of them as were outed of the Ministry for Lewdness and Ignorance, are honour'd equally with the rest; tho' we are told of them by Calamy, "they were generally prov'd insufficient or scandalous, or both, by the Oaths of several Witnesses, especially guilty of Drunkenness or Swearing, &c." Those that were put in their Places, were commonly such as set themselves laboriously to seek the saving of Souls; which SEEKING, will be as much a Jest as seeking the Lord is in other Places.

P. 87.

Vol. I. p. 77.

Places. We have said already, that the Earl assures us, *there was not one Churchman in any Degree of Acceptance of a scandalous Insufficiency in Learning, or of a scandalous Condition of Life.*

I hope, after comparing the Lord Clarendon with Dr. Calamy, it will not be thought presumption, if I desire to be inform'd whether his Lordship's Relation has too much Simplicity and Sincerity.

The Perplexity and Inconstancy of the Prince's Counsels, after his Cornish Army was disbanded, being the usual Effects of Distress and Despair, needed not so many Pages, had not the Chancellor of the Exchequer been at the Head of them, which renders every Incident of Importance.

The Pope's Nuntio in Ireland was an Enemy to the Peace, so were the Presbyterians, and their Agreement confirms the Conspiracy between them and the Papists against the Church. It is rather too sincere and too simple than otherwise.

"It was very early in the Morning when the King went to the Scots General's Lodgings, and discover'd himself to him, who either was, or seem'd to be exceedingly surprized, and confounded at his Majesty's Presence, not knowing what to say;" *Hist. Reb. p. 22.* The Parliament's People could look no body in the face, but when they were fighting with them, when their disdainful Enemies seldom fail'd to turn their Backs upon them. I am sensible of the Poverty of Pun, but really the Airs in which the noble Historian dresses up both Friends and Foes, do sometimes provoke Mirth. *Whitlocke* tells us, the General wrote to the Parliament, *that the Scots were astonished at the Providence of the King's coming into their Army, which was so private, that it was long e'er they could find him out, declaring there had been no Treaty between his Majesty and them: which I believe was true enough; but there had been some talk with Mont-*

P 2

trevil

Vol. III.
Part I.

Pag. 9.

P. 209.

Hist. Reb.
pag. 23.

trevil the French Resident, who was led by them to assure the King, that the *Scots* would stand by him with their Lives and Fortunes. He was not frightened from owning and declaring what had pass'd between them, what they had promised, and what they were engaged to do. Which the *Scots* say, as before, was just nothing at all.

"It was an Observation in that time, That the first publishing of extraordinary News was from the Pulpit; and by the Preacher's Text, and his manner of Discourse upon it, the Auditors might judge, and commonly foresaw what was like to be next done in Parliament, or Council of State." That is, the Lords and Commons gave the Presbyterian Parsons what Texts they should preach upon; and the Noble Historian gives us three long Verses out of *Samuel*. One may perceive that his Lordship was well read in the *Concordance*, as well as other valuable parts of Learning, by the great Variety of Texts which serve for Motto's to every Book of the History. Other Authors make use of *Scraps* out of the Classics; but the Earl's Subject, the Defence of the Church and Prelacy, requir'd Motto's that were more *Rabbinical*.

Sir Robert Spotswood, the King's Secretary in Scotland, was as wise a Man as that Nation had at that time; who was executed for joining with Montrose in his many desperate Attempts against the Covenanters; which shews what Portion of Wisdom he was endow'd with.

"These Discourses were only kept up till the *Scots* could adjust all Accounts between them, and agree the Price they should pay for the delivery of his Person." This is the Term which is generally given to the *Scots* delivering up the King, whom they could not keep. The Fact is, the Parliament ow'd them 5 or 600000 *l.* on several

veral Contracts, and they were not willing to go home without it. So their Accounts were audited, *Whil*. It must be noted, that this Demand of the *Scots* was for Arrears and Losses; and it was made long before the King put himself into the hands of General Leven; Ludlow, p. 174. 'Tis very likely they insisted upon the payment of what was due to them, before they would part with the King; and accordingly the whole Demand was reduced to about half the Sum, which was paid them.

'Tis most true, that the Propositions sent to the King, then in the *Scots* Army, were derogatory from his Royal Prerogative, and a great diminution of the Sovereign Power: But tho' the Parliament were exorbitant in some Demands; yet those about the King infused into him such Notions of his Honour, not only in supporting Episcopacy, but in protecting themselves, that they would never let him make any Compliance which was not consistent with their own Safety. Most of them, particularly Mr. Hyde, was excepted out of the Parliament's Pardon; and would surely have suffer'd for Delinquency, if they had been taken or deliver'd up, to be an Example of Terror to all future Ministers of Tyranny, and all evil Counsellors. It was well for them that his Majesty's Zeal for Episcopacy in England, which he had utterly abolished in Scotland, made him deaf to any Propositions which would have done the same in England. That was an invincible Obstacle to Peace, but the *Militia* was a greater; and the evil Counsellors were sure, if these Articles were yielded, the Delinquents would certainly have been deliver'd up to Justice. Thus being not so much concerned for their Master's Preservation as their own, they eternally counsell'd him not to part with a Form or a Ceremony, nor with the

Militia for a day; yet their Speeches and Histories are full of their Duty, Loyalty, and Affection to his Majesty; which indeed was attach'd to the Preferments, Riches, and Honours they were in hopes of.

We have observ'd what Treatment the Parliament and their Friends have met with from his Lordship with respect to *Heresy, Profaneness, &c.* This Scandal was rais'd by the Cavaliers so early as after the Battle of *Naseby*; for when they found they could not beat them, they did their utmost to defame and divide them. *Whil.* "Many Cavils were made against the Officers and Soldiers, as such who held erroneous and schismatical Opinions, contrary to the true Doctrine; and that they took upon them to preach, and expound Scripture, not being learned or ordained." And some of the King's Party were not wanting to foment these things, which Fomentation is remember'd in the History of the Rebellion; and truly those Fomentations did more hurt to the Parliament and their Army, than all the War had done. Thence proceeded those Jealousies, Disgusts, Murmurs, Complaints, Reproaches, Mutinies, and Contests between the Civil and Military Powers; in which the latter are generally the stronger, if Care is not taken to keep their Strength always within due Bounds, and a strict Watch is not always kept over the Actions of their Leaders. These Divisions were doubtless a very grateful Subject to the Earl of *Clarendon*, as to me they are most ungrateful.

It has been remark'd, that the Earl changes the Qualities of the Parliament according to the Event, which administers Subject of Reflection. If they are upon any Military Business, they are Cowards; if upon Civil, Tyrannical; if upon Religious, Heretical; if upon Moral, Libertines.

They

They are either always Insolent, or always Dejected; every little thing lifts them up, and throws them down. And now upon a Letter from Sir *Thomas Fairfax* their General, wherein he promises for the Army, *That all Matters shall be left to Vol. III. their absolute Determination, they were so distracted, Part I. that they appeared beside themselves. This is sober P. 49.*

History: And sent for Mr. Marshall to pray with them. They sat upon a Sunday, and surely they might be as well allow'd to pray upon the Lord's Day, as *LAUD* allow'd Gaming, Drinking, Dancing, &c. *All the Shops were shut up, and such a general Confusion over all the Town, and in the Faces of all Men, as if the Army had already enter'd. Pag. ib.* But in a day or two, says *Whitlocke*, they were open'd again, and all things were peaceable in the City. His Lordship leaves them still with Confusion in their Faces. This is Sincerity and Simplicity!

It will be acknowledged by every one, that the Phrase in the *History of the Rebellion* is extremely flowing and elegant; especially in the Characters. As, where the Earl talks of the Lord *Fairfax*, Colonel *Sydney*, and other Officers of the Army, having occasion to mention General *Ireton*, it is, *He was the most virulent, malicious, and revengeful of all the Pack. St. Stephen's Chappel may in the same way of Expression be term'd a Kennel, and the Members of Parliament so many Hounds. Ireton and the Officers having presented an Impeachment against Mr. Hollis and ten other Members, the Parliament were unspeakably dismay'd and distracted. Pag. ib.*

"The Convocation at *Oxford* pass'd a publick Act and Declaration against the Covenant, with such invincible Arguments, &c. of the *Illegality, Wickedness, and Perjury* contain'd in it, that no Man of the contrary Opinion ever ventur'd to

P 4

"make

“ make any Answer to it.” In this his Lordship charges King *Charles II.* who took that Oath no less than three times, with Illegality, Wickedness, and Perjury; not to mention the Lords, Gentlemen, and an infinite number of Clergy and Laity who also took it. It was establish’d by the Powers then in being, and to have answer’d the Convocation’s Arguments any other way than by Contempt, had been to have set Sophistry on an equal foot with Law. The Commissioners who were appointed by Parliament to visit that University, only answer’d those Reasons by expelling all those that refused to take the Covenant; the very Business they were sent for. But *A. Wood*, p. 61. assures us the Commissioners made nothing of it. “ Scarce one Governour or Master of a College or Hall would take that Oath.” *Hist. Reb.*

Some did take it; as,

Dr. Reynolds, afterwards Bishop of *Norwich*.

Dr. Ward, afterwards Bishop of *Salisbury*.

Dr. Wilkins, afterwards Bishop of *Chester*.

Dr. Hall, afterwards Bishop of *Bristol*.

Dr. Ironside, afterwards Bishop of *Bristol*.

Dr. Cartwright, afterwards Bishop of *Chester*.

Dr. Hopkins, afterwards Bishop of *Londonderry*.

Dr. Fowler, afterwards Bishop of *Gloucester*.

Dr. Stratford, afterwards Bishop of *Chester*.

Dr. Sprat, afterwards Bishop of *Rochester*.

Dr. Crew, afterwards Bishop of *Durham*.

In a word, so many Bishops, Deans, Doctors, and Masters then and afterwards took this Covenant, that it is marvellous to hear it call’d illegal, wicked, and sworn in Perjury.

The Parliament’s Visitors, &c. endeavour’d to extinguish all good Literature. Witness the Royal Society, the chief Founders whereof were Persons who had taken this Covenant, as *Dr. Ward*, *Dr. Wilkins*, *Dr. Wallis*, *Dr. Bathurst*, *Dr. Wren*.
The

The Gates of Hell were never open’d so wide, says *Pag. 74.* the noble Historian, as when the Presbyterians were admitted into that University. This too is Simplicity and Sincerity, Historical Sobriety, and the like. Thus when the Presbyterian Ministers had been reforming the Manners of those Academics, and bringing them to hear Prayers, sing Psalms, and, as the Earl often says merrily, to seek the Lord, they open’d the Gates of Hell.

—————*The Gates wide open stood,
That with extended Wings a banner’d Host
Under spread Ensigns marching, might pass through
With Horse and Chariots rank’d in loose Array;
So wide they stood, and like a Furnace Mouth.*

Out of which were vomited Ignorance, Profanation, not that of the Sabbath, Atheism, and Rebellion; *Hist. Reb.* p. 74.

*Cast forth redounding Smoke and ruddy Flame;
Before their Eyes in sudden View appear
The Secrets of the hoary Deep*—————

And what strikes so close to the Parliament, that one would have thought *Milton* had made it on purpose, if he had not been a witless, illiterate Republican.

*Eternal Anarchy amidst the Noise
Of endless War*—————

Milton makes Sin to open those dreadful Gates, but the Lord *Clarendon* tells us ’twas Sir *Nathaniel Pag. 75.* *Brent*, Warden of *Merton College*, and some Members of the House of Commons.

Major *Huntington* was one of the best Officers in the Parliament Army. How comes this about? There are Gen. *Skippon*, Gen. *Cromwell*, Gen. *Ireton*, Col. *Ingoldsby*, Col. *Lambert*, and some hundreds more; why then is Major *Huntington* the best

best Officer? This is very strong on the Major's side, and we must look for some good Reason why he is a better Officer than many of the best. We are told it in another History: He was converted to the Royal Cause by reading King *Charles's Eikon Basilike* in Manuscript, which he got out of the hands of General *Fairfax*, and restor'd to his Majesty at *Hampton-Court*. All which would have made him the very best of Officers, if the Book had been at that time in being.

The Presbyterian Party left it to their Clergy to keep the Fire burning in the Hearts of the People by their Pulpit-Inflammations, and they stoutly discharged their Trust. This severe Reflection on the Presbyterians is the more unjust, for that it is ungrateful; and the Disingenuity of their inveterate Enemies in charging them with being the Trumpeters of Rebellion, is the more odious, for that they forget the happy Restoration was chiefly owing to them; and if they preach'd the Father out, it must be own'd they preach'd the Son in. But the Pulpit-Inflammations were truly before the Civil War broke out, by such Priests as *Montague*, whose Doctrines were voted to tend to the Dishonour of the King, and Disturbance of Church and State; *Whitlocke*, p. 1. This Vote pass'd in King *Charles's* first Parliament, and the Priest's Punishment was a Bishoprick. Such Clergymen as *Manwaring*, "Whose Divinity, Mr. *Pym* said in a Speech, tended to destroy the King and Kingdom:" And such notice was taken of it, that he too was made a Bishop. Such Priests as *Sibthorp*, who preach'd a Sermon for Arbitrary Absolute Power; and Archbishop *Abbot* was suspended for refusing to licence it. There would be no end of it, if one should enter into a Detail of all the Mischiefs which accru'd by the Preachings of the *Laudan* Clergy. The War with the *Scots* was so notoriously

Page 12.

riously the bad Work of that Clergy, that 'twas call'd the *Bishops War*; and it had been so often and so justly laid to their charge, that their Opponents could not so well clear themselves of it, as by retaliating on the Puritan Ministers after the War with the Parliament broke out. It was very natural for Ministers, as well as others zealous for a Cause, to do all that lay in their power to support it; as that *Laudan* Priest, who pray'd for the Success of the *Irish* Rebels, when it was understood that they intended to assist the King against the Parliament of *England*. But this Reproach remain'd chiefly among the Drollers and Jest-makers of the Royal Party, and needed not to have been put into a grave sober History, when 'twas so well placed in a merry one:

*When Gospel-Trumpeter surrounded
With long-ear'd Rout to Battle sounded, &c.*

From the Beginning of the History of the Rebellion to the End, whatever was done by the Parliament for Self-preservation is spoken of as Illegal, Barbarous, Tyrannical and Bloody. The Sophistry is, in taking no notice of the Appeal on both sides to the Sword, which obliged each to give the Law within the Limits of their Power. If the Resistance of the Parliament was lawful, while they were free and under no military Direction; the Methods of it must be so too, where Faith and Justice were preserv'd: and there can be no greater Nonsense than to suppose it lawful for the Parliament to resist, and not lawful for them to defend themselves against Treason, as well as Power: for to attempt the Destruction of those under whose Protection you live, is certainly as treasonable as any thing in the Statute of 25 *Edward III.* And that their Resistance was Lawful, I think is prov'd by this Declarative Clause in the Militia-

Militia-Act pass'd by the Parliament after the *Secluded Members*, and the Resolution to restore the King. Every Commissioner of the *Militia* was to acknowledge and declare, *That the War undertaken by both Houses of Parliament in their Defence against the Forces raised in the Name of the late King, was Just and Lawful.* This is the Parliament of whom the Earl says, that they did *many Prudent Actions*; and their Declaration in the Militia-Act was doubtless one of them, notwithstanding his Lordship calls them all *REBELS* in the Title of his Book. To return to the History.

Vol. III.
Part II.
P. 728.

Vol. III.
Part I.
P. 90.

"The Commissioners were no sooner gone, than *Hammond caus'd all the King's Servants to be immediately put out of the Castle.*" But we are not told why, nor that the Governour had discover'd the King's Treaty with the *Scots* to raise a new War. Ludlow, p. 235. "The Impression which the Discovery of these things made upon the Governour was so great, that before he departed from *Carisbroke*, to accompany the Parliament's Commissioners to *Newport*, he gave orders for a strict Guard to be kept in his absence, and at his return commanded the Gates to be lock'd up, and the Guards to be doubled, sitting up himself with them all night, whereby the King's intended Escape was obstructed." How can this Portion of History be *Sincere* and *Simple*, without a Word of the King's intended Escape? Had the Governour's Conduct been alter'd out of his own mere Motion, then the Barbarity of it had been a proper Subject of Declamation; but as he was intrusted with the Custody of the King, who was treating with Foreigners to invade this Kingdom, and had form'd a Design to escape to them, and involve this Nation once more in War and Blood, Good Manners certainly ought to give way to Good Policy. The many

In-

Insurrections in *England*, and the Invasion of the *Scots*, are sufficient Proofs that such a Design was form'd; the Lord *Clarendon* knew it, but it is sunk, to prevent any Speculation on the King's Treaty for Peace with the Parliament, and with the *Scots* for War, at one and the same time. The Guards being doubled, his Lordship proceeds:

"This insolent and imperious Way of Proceeding," for an Officer to guard his Prisoner, is very imperious and insolent, "put the Island, which was generally inhabited by a People always well affected to the Crown, into a high Mutiny." The People, who were generally so well affected, are mention'd by Ludlow, p. 236. Few besides Women and Children, who, according to the Lord *Clarendon*, said they would not endure to see the King so used; and therefore these Women and Children, and a few Islanders, took Arms under one Captain *Burley*, who was what the Vulgar term a *Tar*; but being enter'd into this Land-Service, he is a Gentleman of a good Family, and cry'd out for God and the King, I'll lead you to the Castle. This Business, as his Lordship confesses, being not only irrational, but impossible, will bear no more Reflection; the great Diligence and Activity of the King's Servants, who had been put out of the Castle, quieted the People. The Simplicity and Sincerity of this are inconceivable; General Ludlow owns that the King's Servants thought not fit to join them, or encourage them; but how active or diligent they were, he does not say a Syllable of: Captain *Burley* being soon in *Limbo*, the poor Gentleman paid dear for his precipitate Loyalty. Loyalty, I thought, admitted of no Adjectives, but what were good: "Hammond caus'd him presently to be made Prisoner, very surprizing, that a Governour of an Island should dare to send a Man to jail for an Insurrection only;" and the Parliament without Delay,

"lay," the Fact was committed in December, and he was not try'd till the 24th of January, *Whitl.* p. 290. "sent down a Commission of Oyer and Terminer, in which was the Infamous Judge Wild, whom they had made Chief Baron of the Exchequer for such Services." The Truth of which appears, in his not being made Chief Baron of the Exchequer till nine Months after; *Whitl.* p. 337. *The House, October 12, A. D. 1648. order'd that Serjeant Wild, should be Lord Chief Baron of the Exchequer, and Mr. Gates a Baron, at the same time that the Judges of all the Benches were appointed by Parliament; and several very eminent Lawyers were made Serjeants, as Sir Thomas Widdrington, Sir Thomas Bedingfield, Sir Samuel Brown, &c. the latter, as has been hinted, being one of the first Judges made by King Charles II. The Infamous Wild is a Phrase so extremely sober and gallant, that it will excuse the rough Language which the House of Lords and House of Commons meet with in the History. Mr. Edward Hyde, according to A. Wood, p. 532. Vol. II. was the Son of Mr. Henry Hyde, of Pyrton in Wiltshire; Mr. John Wild was the Son of Mr. Serjeant George Wild, of Droitwich in Worcestershire; Mr. Edward Hyde stood for a Fellowship of Exeter College, but was put aside; A. Wood, p. 533. Mr. John Wild stood for the Readership of the Inner Temple, and was chosen; A. Wood, p. 186. Mr. Edward Hyde was made a Barrister of the Middle Temple, p. 533. Mr. John Wild was made a Serjeant at Law, p. 186. A. Wood. Mr. Edward Hyde had the Great Seal given him by King Charles II; "Mr. John Wild was appointed one of the Commissioners of the Great Seal; A. Wood, p. 186." This Contrast was necessary, to shew what Authority the Earl of Clarendon had to call the Lord Chief Baron Wild Infamous, from the Superiority of his Station or Quality,*

Quality; especially considering he gives us no Reason for it, but his doing his Office. Now where the Epithet Infamous is used, 'tis taken for granted, that every one knows the Crime deserv'd so strong a Term. As if one should say, the Infamous Jesuites, every one knows he was a Tool for all the illegal and tyrannical Practices in the Westminster Courts in the latter Part of King Charles's, and King James's whole Reign, and that he butcher'd several hundred Englishmen in the West. But what has Wild done, to which so much Infamy is attach'd? Why he made a Speech against Arch-Bishop Laud, *A. Wood*, 186. Enough to make the most venerable Judge that ever was, infamous; he also caus'd poor Burley, *Hist. Reb.* to be with all Formality indicted of High Treason. He did not cause it: The Parliament order'd Burley to be try'd by a Commission of Oyer and Terminer, *Whitl.* 290. and the Jury found him guilty of High Treason, for levying War. Upon which, their Judge condemn'd him, says the Earl, *Ibid.* and the honest Man was forthwith hang'd. *Whitl.* p. 290. Judgment was given against him, but Execution respited; which is the same as forthwith in his Lordship's History, of which this is one of the most melancholy Paragraphs on account of its various Infirmities. "This made a deeper Impression on the Hearts of all Men," which may be seen by the Address of the Grand Jury of Hampshire, who found the Bill against Burley, presented to the House of Commons, acknowledging the Goodness and Wisdom of the Parliament in the Votes of no further Addresses to the King, *Whitl.* 290. He was try'd for High Treason, for adhering to the King, *Hist. Reb.* He was try'd for endeavouring to raise a new War in the Kingdom, which the King deny'd that he ever intended, or even to call in the Scots.

This Infamous Judge Wild is the same to whom the Lord Commissioner *Whitlocke* made a most eloquent

Whitlocke,
p. 344.

Vol. II. p.
186.

quent Speech, when he was sworn Lord Chief Baron, almost a Year after the Earl of Clarendon assures us he was made Chief Baron on purpose to hang that poor honest Loyal Gentleman, Captain Burley; in which Speech we read, "*The Freedom of the Parliament's Choice without your seeking, or other means for Promotion;*" Oh the Infamy of the Judge! *This publick Consent for your Preferment cannot but bring much Satisfaction to your Conscience.* The Earl tells us he was made to hang, draw, and quarter Men contrary to Law. Whitlocke again, In the present Choice, which it hath pleased the Parliament to make, I doubt not but they will receive Honour, the People Satisfaction, and yourself Comfort. Whitlocke, after whose Name one may say any thing of the Earl of Clarendon which is true, declares the Parliament receiv'd Honour by making that Man a Judge, whom the Earl stiles *Infamous*. By such as have read that excellent Speech of Whitlocke's, and the Speeches in the History of the Rebellion, and the Speeches of the Lord Chancellor after the Restoration, I shall not be thought guilty of Temerity, if I should be of Opinion that there is more Law, Learning, History, and Eloquence in that one Speech, than in all the others. If there had been no other Consideration to have prevented the confounding of the Libellous with the Historical Style, this one methinks should have been prevalent, that from the Reverend Judge descends one of the noblest Houses in England, the present Lord de la Ware being Grandson to the Lord Chief Baron Wild; A. Wood. 'Twas very necessary to clear the Way in this remarkable Paragraph; for if what I have said after the best Authors be true, then there will a blemish remain upon it, which not all the Adulation or Idolatry paid to that History will be able to wipe off; but the Reader should have it in his Mind when

when he comes to more such suspicious Passages, tho' this alone is sufficient to justify a strict Enquiry into the Sincerity and Simplicity of the History, *The Infamous Wild*.

Let not any one imagine that I have the least good Sentiment with respect to the Actings of the Soldiery towards the Tryal and Death of the King. I abhor the Force put on the Parliament as much as the noble Historian did, and without that Force, the King could not have been murder'd. But I cannot speak against Truth, to make the Characters of the Murderers still more detestable; nor can I ridicule the holy Exercises of Fasting and Praying, because Cromwell, Ireton, and the General Officers, as well as Inferiors, did pray and fast as much as the Cavaliers did riot and swear. I do not say all, for there were many sober, religious Men who adhered to the Royal Cause out of Zeal to the Church, and who thought that the Christian Religion itself would suffer, if Forms, Ceremonies, &c. were not kept up to Laud's Elevation. *There was a Meeting at Windsor, says his Lordship, where the Conference began with the usual Preliminaries by Fastings and Prayers made at the very Council by Cromwell, Ireton, or some inspir'd Person.* I suspect the Pretenders to Inspiration, but I cannot therefore charge all those that believe they have receiv'd Gifts of Prayer, to be Hypocrites, which is the Tenor of the History; and the Mistake is so much on the right side, that true Piety and Charity would excuse it.

The next Observation will have one of the same *Foibles* with the former. After the Vote of *Non-Addresses*, the Parliament made a Declaration, wherein they repeated all the Enormities of the Administration, in Villiers, Wentworth, and Laud's time, before and after the Civil War. The Terms

Q

were

were very plain and expressive, and what related to the King himself had little Ceremony in it. But I cannot believe that Sir John Maynard spoke against it in the House of Commons, because he was not then a Member of that House, and besides was a Prisoner in the Tower. *Whitl. p. 270.*

Pag. 270. The Parliament order'd, September 7, 1647. That Sir John Maynard should be discharged from being a Member of the House, and committed to the Tower during the Pleasure of the House. And the Declaration concerning the Votes for Non-Addressees was not published till almost half a Year after, the 15th of February following, *Whitl. p. 292.* the very same day that the same Sir John Maynard sent a Protestation from the Tower to the Lords, telling them, *He ought to be try'd by a Jury, &c.* Thus we see that Sir John was not a Member of Parliament, but a Prisoner in the Tower, when the Earl writes of him; "Sir John Maynard, a Member of the House, who had too much comply'd and concurred with their irregular and unjust Proceedings, after he had with great Vehemence oppos'd;" *nota bene*, he was all the while in Prison, "and contradicted the most odious Part of their Declaration, told them plainly," *he being in the Tower, and they in St. Stephen's Chappel*, "That by this Resolution of making no more Addressees, &c." I suppose there is no Remark expected on a Thing that could not be done. So we proceed.

Hist. Reb. p. 97. The Officers of the Army resolv'd to imprison the Marquiss of Ormond, not as a Man whom they suspected of Designs against the Parliament whenever he could execute them; but as a Man worthy of their Fear. It is a strange thing: They will be terrible, let their Circumstances be what they will. Cromwell and the Army are afraid of the Marquiss of Ormond, without Arms or Money but

but what the Parliament gave him, *Whitl. p. 279.* The Truth is, *p. 320.* They had Letters from Dublin, that the Lord Ormond was expected at Cork, upon whose coming thither a general Revolt was intended. And in such Case, any Officer was so far worthy their Fear, as to be worthy their seizing him. I say not this to depreciate the Marquiss of Ormond. He was a wise, brave Man, and liv'd long enough to be sensible of the ill Designs of the Court against our Religion and Liberties; nor did he owe that Tendency of his Judgment to any Disgrace or Danger. The Earl of Clarendon, who liv'd not so long as he, however liv'd long enough to discover the Machinations that were carried on by the Favourers of Popery and Arbitrary Power; but his Judgment was enlighten'd by Articles of Impeachment three Years after that Restauration, in which we are told he had been so instrumental; and by a second Impeachment four Years after that, which ended in Banishment, that ended not but with his Life. Had not the History of the Rebellion been written before, we should have lost abundance of Heroism.

It is not out of Respect to Mr. Hollis, that his Quarrel with General Ireton is represented so much to his Advantage, but out of Disgust to Ireton, who was the most zealous Republican in the Army. This Gentleman's Courage could be question'd by no body but such wild Thinkers as the Cavaliers, who call'd Cromwell a Coward. There was not probably a more intrepid Man upon Earth, both for Council and Action, than General Ireton, whose Enemies prevail'd over him indeed at last, and when he was dead, pull'd him out of his Grave; and among other Affronts put on his Memory, is this in the Earl's History: "Hollis, upon a very hot Debate in the House, and some rude Expressions which fell from

Q 2

"Ireton,

Pag. 58. "Ireton, persuaded him to walk out of the House with him, and then told him, That he should presently go over the Water and fight him. Ireton reply'd, his Conscience would not suffer him to fight a Duel. Hollis in Choler pull'd him by the Nose." Here are two Meanings; the one to make merry with Conscience, the other to expose Ireton's Cowardice; and both the very reverse to the Fact, as it is told by General Ludlow, who was at the same time in the House. "One day Commissary-General Ireton speaking something which Mr. Hollis thought injurious to his Friends, the latter passing by him in the House, whispered him in the Ear, telling him it was false, and he would justify it to be so, if he would follow him; and thereupon immediately went out of the House, with the other following him." Ireton did not put off Fighting with his Conscience, but accepted the Challenge immediately. "Some Members, who had observed their obstinate Carriage to each other, and seen them hastily leaving the House, acquainted the Parliament with their Apprehensions: Whereupon they sent their Serjeant at Arms to command their Attendance; which he letting them understand as they were taking Boat to go to the other side of the Water, they returned, without any pulling by the Nose. Which is another remarkable Instance of Sincerity and Simplicity. The Reflections that arise from Facts made on purpose, and that never had a Being, have a particular kind of Absurdity, which gives us at once both Indignation and Pleasure. There was no *tweaking* in the Case. The Challenge was whisper'd, and silently accepted of. The Parties went out to fight, the Parliament interposed, and enjoin'd them to forbear all Words or Actions of Enmity towards each other; and to carry them-

Pag. 244.

Ludl. p. 245.

selves for the future as Fellow-Members of the same Body, which they promised to do. The Earl says, *This Affront to the third Person of the Army, and to a Man of the most virulent, malicious, and revengeful Nature of All the PACK, so incensed the whole Party.* I have indeed pity for such Passages as carry Malignity with them, where there is not the least Foundation in Truth.

How mannerly and elegant is the Term, *All the PACK, All the Kennel?* These are Flowers and Graces of Eloquence, which make some Amends for want of Veracity. This PACK are the Lord Fairfax, the Lord Lisle, Sir Edward Harley, Sir Gilbert Pickering, Sir Samuel Luke, Colonel Sydney, General Ludlow, Admiral Popham, Lord Grey of Grooby, the Earl of Sandwich, the Duke of Albemarle, (then Montague and Monk) Sir Robert Pye, Colonel Fiennes, Colonel Sydenham, and a long List of the best Names in England, engaged in the same Cause in Parliament, and out of it; which are a PACK of them in his Lordship's History. Suppose now the Tables should be turn'd, and we should meet with a number of Offenders excepted out of a National Pardon, as these were; William Widdrington, George Goring, Henry Jermin, Russell, Sir Ralph Hopton, Endymion Porter, Colonel Ware, p. 851. Sir Richard Greenville, Sir Richard Floyd, Colonel John Cockram, Sir Nicholas Cole, Mr. Edward Hyde, and we should add, a PACK of them; would it not be thought most gallant and polite? Yet I believe those Names will not be put into parallel with the former.

I have frequently observed, that when an Historical Paragraph is false in the Conception, it is extremely fruitful in the Birth, and has a numerous Offspring. The Affront, or rather the no Affront put upon Ireton, the third Person in the Army, so incensed the Officers, that they prepared

pared an Impeachment of High Treason against Mr. *Hollis* and ten Members more of the House of Commons. This Impeachment was in June 1647, *Whitlocke*, p. 258. and the Difference between *Hollis* and *Ireton* was not till January after, upon the Sedition of the *Surrey Men*, *Ludlow*, p. 244. And on the 27th of January, Mr. *Hollis* and others of the eleven Members were expell'd the House of Commons. Thus the pulling by the Nose, if there had in fact been any such thing, could not have caused an Impeachment which was presented above six Months before; and because Dr. *Neile*, Dr. *Wren*, Dr. *Laud*, and others, had been impeached by the Parliament for High Crimes, if not High Treason, and Mr. *Hollis* had shewn his Activity in former Impeachments; therefore comes this Speculation, *They learnt the Expedient from the Conduct of those very Men against whom they meant to apply it.* A kind of Judgment on Mr. *Hollis*, for daring to call Delinquents to Account. These Gentlemen do with good reason abominate all sorts of Impeachments, the Name of which throws the Ministers of Tyranny and Persecution into Distraction and Despair; and his Lordship had most certainly very good reason to speak ill of them, for he doubtless had had the full Experience of the Effects of one, if he had fallen into the hands of the Parliament. "I was misled with others in my Notion of the "Levellers." I took it as the Earl of *Clarendon* represents it, that *they were for a Parity among all Men*, even from the Appellation; but I learn from *Ludlow*, that *they were for hastening on a speedy Settlement*; by which, I am afraid, they meant no less Wickedness than the Death of the King.

There is nothing in the World has whetted the Wit of the Cavaliers, which was never very keen, so much as the Solemn League and Covenant. I

pag. 58.

imagined by what they said of it, before I read it, that 'twas some such infernal Engagement as Witches, or rather as *Oliver Cromwell* enter'd into with the Devil in a Wood in *Worcestershire*, according to the Testimony of several Orthodox Divines; and I was frighted when I came to this Account of it given by King *Charles I.* That it was agreeable to Allegiance, and that he would confirm it by Acts of Parliament in *England* and *Scotland*, *Hist. Reb.* I always had a Notion that King *Charles* was universally reckon'd a Martyr for the Church of *England*, and that his refusing to pass the *Militia Bill* was nothing to his Refusal to pass the *Presbyterian Bill*; but I find in the same Page, His Majesty engaged to confirm by Act of Parliament *Presbyterian Government, the Directory of Worship, and the Assembly of Divines*, whom the Earl styles *Infamous and Scandalous*. I was made to believe by his Lordship, as far as the History could engage my Belief, that the *Presbyterians* encouraged, or at least connived at Atheism, Deism, Libertinism, Socinianism, Arianism, and a hundred more *Isms*; but in the next Page of the History we are told, that the *Presbyterians* insisted upon it, that the King should suppress all *Arians, Socinians, Antinomians, Familists, Brownists, Seekers, &c.* and among them the *Anabaptists*: The learned Casuists having proved, beyond all manner of Contradiction, that there were no Men and Women baptized in the four first Centuries; and that the pretended Baptism of the first Christian Emperor *Constantine*, above twenty Years after he had embraced Christianity, with thousands of other such Instances, are Forgeries first imposed upon the credulous People by one *Knipperdoling* at *Munster*.

I did not doubt but there was a Bargain and Sale made between the *Scots* and the Parliament of *England* for the King's Person, and that every

body thought it a base and dishonourable Bargain to buy his Majesty at a Price, which was paid; whereas the Earl informs us, p. 107. the Money was not all paid, and that the King himself engaged to pay it whenever he was able. All which, and much more, his Majesty sign'd the 26th Day of December, Anno Dom. 1647. *Obliging himself on the Word of a King*, says his Lordship, to perform the said *Articles*, which, in the next Page we are told, was not *possible to be perform'd*. That is, it was not possible for the King to establish Presbytery and the Covenant; or, in other words, it was not possible for his Majesty to keep his Word; a Charge which no body but *Oliver Cromwell* had the Impudence ever to lay against him. And indeed, it was very possible to have put the Directory in the Place of the Liturgy, and a Presbyterian into that of a Bishop, as the Parliament shew'd before and after; yet the noble Historian is positive, p. 108. that all the People of England might as easily be cramm'd into *Carisbroke Castle*, as the Directory and Presbytery be established in England, tho' but for three Years, p. 103.

Pag. 109.

"The Leaders of the Independents were Masters of Dissimulation, had Malice and Wickedness in their Intentions, unrestrain'd by any Scruples of Conscience;" tho' just now we read, that Gen. *Ireton* would not fight on account of that Scruple. "They would do any thing ill and unjustifiable." As in *Whitlocke*, p. 440. The Head Officers, those very Independents, wrote a Letter to the Colonels and Governours of the respective Regiments and Garrisons in England and Wales, exhorting them to Prayer and to Unity, and to join in keeping a Day of Humiliation set apart to seek God; there's another Jest for them; for his Assistance to them in all Services whereunto they shall be called: And to reform Drunkenness, Swearing, Pro-

fanation

fanation of the Lord's Day, Contempt of the Ordinances of Christ, and all Sins in their several Charges, and to sanctify the Camp. What wicked irreligious Wretches these Men must be! and we have been told what religious pious Persons the Cavalier Party consisted of, even the very Soldiery. What *Baxter* writes of it does somewhat discredit that piece of History: Dr. *Calamy*, Vol. I. p. 91. "A sober Gentleman in *Somersetshire* averr'd to me, that a Company of the King's Soldiers, who quarter'd in his Neighbourhood, prick'd their Fingers, letting the Blood run into a Cup, in which they drank a Health to the Devil."

The Presbyterian Clergy were generally wretched and senseless; their infectious Breath corrupted the People. They ruled over Mens Wives, and govern'd their domestick Affairs. At the End of Dr. *Calamy's* second Volume, is a List of many hundreds of those Ministers, whose Eminence for Learning, Piety and Merit is a severe Reproof of that most severe Reflection. What Instruction might the Noble Historian have receiv'd from this excellent Advice of Archbishop *Tillotson*, express'd in the most tender Terms: *There is no readier way for a Man to bring his own Worth into question, than by endeavouring to detract from the Worth of other Men.* Pref. to Bp Wilkin's Sermon. Such a divine Sentiment would be a sure Guide to all Writers of History. As to the Presbyterian Parsons governing of Wives and Families, it would have been much more surprising if no other Parsons had ever been heard of, who intermeddled with Matters that did not belong to them. And perhaps I could give a living Instance of the ill Effects of their intermeddling in the most noble Families, to the disturbance of their Peace and Happiness. What follows is an entertaining Description of *Oliver Cromwell's* Beginnings in Advancement: While he look'd upon the Presbyterian Humour

Humour as the best Incentive to Rebellion, no Man more a Presbyterian: He sung all Psalms with them to their Tunes, and lov'd the longest Sermons as much as they. It wou'd have been pity that there had been no seeking God, singing Psalms, and hearing Sermons, were it only on account of the Mirth it gives the Noble Author. Cromwell must be allow'd to be a very sad Wretch by every one, yet he had Qualities which should not have been omitted by the Historian, because they are good ones. He was generous by Nature, and apt to forgive those Enemies he had conquer'd. An Instance of his forgiving Temper is in A. Wood. Mr. William Aylesbury had been Governour to the young Duke of Buckingham, and was Groom of the Bedchamber to the King: After whose Death he left the Kingdom, and dwelt some time in Flanders; but being reduc'd to great streights, he stole into England, and was maintain'd by certain Royalists at Oxford. Notwithstanding which, and that his Sister was marry'd to Sir Edward Hyde, he was made Secretary of Jamaica by Oliver Cromwell; who has abundance of Thanks for it in Sir Edward's History of the Rebellion.

Vol.
p. 216.

His Lordship was sensible of the little Importance of the King's Negotiation with the Scots, and the Preparations for Duke Hamilton's Invasion, and terms it very justly a tedious Digression.

The Divinity of the Time was not to be judg'd by the Preaching, Hist. Reb. p. 115. And then we have a Sarcalm on such as did not like Laud's Theatrical Consecration of Creechurch in Leaden-Hall-Street: The Churches were polluted by the Bishops Consecrations, according to the Notions of the Presbyterians. His Lordship would have us believe they were purify'd by it. The Schismatics thought them polluted, and sober People think neither the one nor the other. Never was such a
Scene

Scene of Confusion as at this time had spread over the whole Kingdom. Men who were inspir'd preach'd and pray'd when and where they would: A very great sign of it truly!

It did not consist with the Dignity of the Prince of Wales to be a Pensioner to the King of France. How hard does that bear on those Ministers who suffer'd him to be such a Pensioner when he was King of England?

His Lordship assures us, the natural Drefs of the Parliament Army was *Inhumanity and Savageness*; and that the Lord Fairfax had no Eyes, p. 112. which was the more lamentable, for that he was a great Lover of Books: *A. Wood, p. 88. He was a great Lover of Learning.* And what comes after is a deplorable Instance of the Frailty of Human Nature in the Weakness of its Judgment and the Strength of its Passions. *A. Wood, ib. When Oxford Garrison was surrender'd for the Use of the Parliament, General Fairfax took great care for the Preservation of the Publick Library. The Earl of Clarendon, as is already related, represents the Parliament's Friends to be as great Enemies to Learning as Rats and Moths.*

Here too we must observe, that the Roundheads are charged with the very Faults which the Royalists were guilty of; for they themselves made those Ravages in the publick Library which are laid upon the Parliamentarians. *A. Wood, ibid. That Library, in several Respects, did suffer while the Garrison was possess'd by the Royal Party. I am sensible, that the Term no Eyes is Metaphorical, and is to be understood, that he was stupid or credulous, and easy to be impos'd upon. But that he could see a little, one may perceive by what is said of his Negotiation with Monk to bring in the King. 'Tis in a History, which if it has no other Advantage, has at least this very great*

- great one, to be written by a Dignitary of the Church, p. 752. whom I think I shall seldom or never name any more. Further, this General without Eyes was *not willing to be led*, as in the
- Pag. 112. *History of the Rebellion*. They could not get him to consent to the King's Death; they could not prevail upon him to command the Army that was to march against our Brethren the Scots. Ludlow
- P. 314. says, *We labour'd to persuade him*, but he would
- P. 315. *not alter his Resolution*. The Council of State appointed a Committee to confer again with him, and they spent some time in Debate with him; but he would not be led neither by the Parliament nor Cromwell, nor the Council of State. There is hardly in all the *English History* an Instance of greater Obstinacy than this. He would rather resign his Commission of General of a victorious Army, than he would invade the Territories of his Brother Presbyterians.

If a universal Discontent and Murmuring of the three Nations, and almost as general a Detestation both of Parliament and Army, &c. The Earl's Reflections are all in the Cavalier way of Thinking. Himself was forced to fly the Country, and so were many more who fell with the Cause they had engaged in, and their Conversation must needs be universally Discontent and Murmuring. The Party of the Earl of Essex were doubtless out of humour, and would very gladly have got into Command again. The Cavalier Desperadoes had but a dismal Prospect for the remainder of their Lives; and when they were provoked by Poverty and Despair, it was enough to excite more bashful Men to Arms. The hopes of making Bargains by assisting in the King's Redemption, prevail'd upon many to enter into Engagements to that end. But as to any other Murmurs and Discontents, they were no more terrible than the

rumbling

rumbling of a Stone in an empty Cask. The Army was then devoted to the Parliament; the City reconcil'd to them; and the Nation weary of an unnatural War; without which that Redemption could not be accomplished. Thus, whatever Attempts were made to effect it, they had the Success which usually attends rash and undigested Counsels. *The Presbyterian Ministers talk'd very loud*, Hist. Reb. They have not wanted Pag. 120. Lungs from the Year 1641, to this Year 1648.

I do not here or any where else object against the Counsels and Actions of the Royalists in their desperate Enterprizes to procure the King's Liberty, as one that would not have wish'd them Success; but as an equal Stander-by, who judges of them by their Appearance, and cannot impute that to Loyalty and Duty, which appears no otherwise to me than Rashness and Despair.

The Parliament's Affairs in *Ireland* were in a very ill Condition. The brave Colonel Michael Jones having just then fought the *Irish* on *Dungon-Ludlow's Hill*, tho' double his Number, kill'd some thousand of them, and totally routed the rest.

The Earl of *Inchiqueen* being about to desert the Protestant Interest in *Ireland*, and join the Marquis of *Ormond*, who had join'd the *Irish* Rebels, his Lordship is much taken with his wonderful *Dexterity* in *pressing for Supplies* which he *knew the Parliament would not send*; as the Lord *Ormond* and he found by woful Experience in a Year or two. Ludlow says, the Lord *Inchiqueen* P. 251. preferr'd his own Creatures to the prejudice of the *English Interest* in *Ireland*, and many who were acquainted with his Temper and Principles, quitted the Service.

It cannot be expected that one should enter into the Deliberations of the Scots, as to Duke *Hamilton's* Invasion. That Enterprize was so Roman-tick

tick and ill-grounded, that one cannot have patience with the Counsels which produced it.

The Marquiss of Ormond was a very gallant Man; and, as the Earl tells us, *worthy to be feared*: But as to two Gentlemen who had been eminent in *Yorkshire* and *Cumberland*, as *Justices of the Peace*, p. 126. that they too should be *worthy to be feared* by the Parliament of *England* and the chief Officers of the Army, exceeds Comprehension.

Hist. Reb. *The Fleet rejected all their Officers*; by which one
p. 136. can understand nothing less, than that the whole Fleet revolted to the King, or Prince of *Wales*. *Ludlow*, p. 234. "The Earl of *Warwick* was appointed to go down to reduce the Revolters, by which means part of the Fleet was preserved to the Parliament." Among all the Insurrections which had flush'd the Royalists with hopes of a new Civil War in the Year 1648, none seem'd to be so sure of Success as that of *Kent*, on Account of the Dignity and Qualifications of the Contriver *Roger L'Estrange*, the famous Author of that excellent Paper the *Observer*, temp. *Car. 2*. However, the noble Historian builds so much upon it, that he gives us the History of it in *Detail*; and attributes the Disaffection of the Seamen to the Intrigues of the Gentry and Yeomanry of *Kent*, who, by Advice of that worthy Gentleman, *Mr. L'Estrange*, were wont frequently to go on shipboard when the Fleet was on their Coast, to tattle with the Seamen, a Custom very prevalent even at this time; and at their Merry-meetings, they agreed to equip a Fleet at Sea, and an Army at Land; the latter being raised by the Authority of *Roger L'Estrange's* Warrants, *Whom*, says his Lordship, *no body knew*. In which I crave leave to disagree with the noble Historian; he being so well known, that he had a Commission from the
King

King to be Governour of *Lynne* in *Norfolk*, if he could have prevail'd with Captain *Lemman*, the Governour for the Parliament, to betray it; for which *Lemman* was to have had 8000 *l*. when the Money could be raised, *Whitl.* p. 114. *Mr. Whitlocke* bids us note, that this piece of Treachery was carried on while the *Uxbridge* Treaty was on foot. He was so well known, that he was condemn'd to be hang'd, p. 116. which is a way of making known much more obscure Creatures than he. But the Parliament spar'd his Life, and as soon as he was at Liberty, he did his utmost again to deserve hanging, by drawing so many thoughtless Wretches into a Conspiracy which ended in their Destruction. This *Kentish* Insurrection, with those of *Essex* and *Surry*, were to countenance the *Scots* Invasion, and all of them receiv'd Encouragement from the Defection of Major-General *Langhorn*, Colonel *Poyer*, and Colonel *Powel* in *Wales*. Thus a new War was begun, and new Perplexities upon the Parliament; but it turn'd only to the uniting of their Party again. And without studying *Matchiavel*, or consulting *Lilly*, any one might then have foreseen, that such must be the Effect of it. The Cavaliers were more subdued, and for the generality under more dejection of Spirit than ever Men were. How could it be imagined then, that the most desperate of them, in conjunction with a few Presbyterians, could be too hard for an Army whose Name was terrible to all *Europe*. Something might have been hoped from the Divisions between the Presbyterians and Independents, and probably they would have produced a favourable Juncture for an honourable Treaty with the King, one or other of the Parties finding their Interest to fall in with him. But these desperate Insurrections, and the despicable Attempt of the *Scots*, exasperated the Parliament
still

still more, and the ill-designing Men in the Army took Advantage of that Spirit, which the new War had rais'd, to put an End to all such Enterprizes, by putting an End to the King's Life: which dreadful and wicked Work, and the Guilt of it, must in some wise be laid at their doors; who were at first the Instruments of the Grievances, which bred the ill Humours that broke out into a War, and afterwards were eternally preaching how dishonourable it would be in him to deliver them up to Parliamentary Justice; nay, in the Crisis, when his Royal Life was visibly struck at, they would not consent to his making any Concessions on that Article; but rather launch'd him and themselves into a Sea of new Troubles, wherein they both suffer'd Shipwreck.

Vol. III.
Part I.

"The Lord Ormond embark'd in France, for Ireland, without any manner of Supplies, *Hist. Reb. p. 137.* Now *Whitlocke*, p. 338. "Letters that the Lord Ormond was landed at *Wexford*, in Ireland; "and brought with him four Thousand Arms, "and five Hundred Cuirassiers, which enabled him to get a Body of Men; and with these, the Lord *Inchiquen*'s Deserters, and the Popish Rebels, much Mischief was done; till they were all cut to Pieces, and dispersed by the Parliament's Forces, which was as fast as they could come at them.

P. 149.

What I am about to repeat after the Earl of *Clarendon*, should, methinks, have had some Influence on the Motions of the *English* Royalists, and have given a Check to their Insurrections, on account of the Assistance they expected from *Scotland*. *Cromwell* had so perfect a Contempt of the whole Strength of that Nation, that he never cared what advantage Ground they had upon any Field, or what Place they ever possess'd.

" If

"If *Langdale* had attack'd *Lambert*, he had, in all Probability, defeated him; *Hist. Reb. p. 150.* P. 151. "*Lambert* advanc'd upon Sir *Marmaduke Langdale*, who was forced to retire, being enjoind not to fight; "had he not been enjoind not to fight, in all Probability, as before. Now the Truth is, that he did fight as well as he could, if Mr. *Whitlocke*'s Account be right; "*Langdale* p. 309. "marching towards *Carlisle*, *Lambert* fell upon his Rear, into the Quarters of a Regiment newly rais'd, which he totally dispersed, and brake; the Officers fled after *Langdale*, and the Soldiers threw down their Arms, and ran home, seeming glad of the Opportunity." The pleasantest Part of this Incident, is, that *Langdale* sent to *Duke Hamilton* for Liberty to fight the Enemy, *Hist. Reb. p. 151.* Now *Whitlocke* again, *Lambert* pursu'd another Party of *Langdale*'s, and took some Prisoners. These small Circumstances would not be worth taking notice of, were it not to shew, that such as the Noble Historian delighteth to honour, have never the worst of it in Action or Counsel. Thus the Rabble of *Kent*, got together by *Roger L'Estrange*, are the *Kentish Troops*, the *Kentish Forces*, their strolling about the Country is call'd *Marching*; and they might easily have kept Sir *Thomas Fairfax*'s Arms out of *East Kent*, if he could Pag. 152. not get over the *Medway*; and there was no Way of getting over, but at *Rocheſter-Bridge*, which they might have broken down, and Sir *Thomas* could Pag. 153. never have got it mended again; then by fortifying a Pass or two, the Parliament's Army would not have been able to have gone an Inch farther. But Pag. 154. the Earl of *Norwich*, being declared General of the *Kentish Troops*, as *Wat Tyler* had been about two or three hundred Years before, he put himself at the Head of them, and march'd to *Black-Heath*. I fancy the Reader will be infinitely pleas'd with this

R

Piece

Vol. III. Piece of History, and therefore I give it almost in Part I. p. the Words of the Original. 'Twas the Beginning 152, 153. of *June*, and the *Season the warmest of the Year*; yet the Troops of *Kent* could not be out of their warm

Pag. 154. Beds, and many withdrew themselves: Those that remain'd, had no Reason to believe themselves equal to General *Fairfax's* veteran Army; and as that General advanc'd, the *Kentish* Forces drew back: But in their drawing back, they made several Stands; till being hard press'd, they divided. They did not run away, they only divided. Their General, the Earl of *Norwich*, quitted *Rocheſter*, and ferry'd over into *Essex*, with a thousand Horse and Foot, among whom were many young Gentlemen, grown up in Loyal Families, to a very fine Purpose, who had been too young to appear before; and what did those wiser Heads deserve, who inveigled those pretty young Gentlemen into a Business, which was likely to prevent their growing much older. Another

Pag. 306. Account of this Heroick Enterprize, is in *Whitlocke's The Kentish Men*, not the *Kentish* Army, the *Kentish* Troops, nor the *Kentish* Forces, as the Lord *Clarendon* stiles them, dissatisfy'd at *Goring*, not the Earl of *Norwich's* being their General, divided; and a small Party of the Parliament's Horse, coming in sight of them, the *Kentish* Men were struck with Fear, and most of them fled; the Parliament's Horse came on, and took many Prisoners. *Goring*, with about five hundred of the Chief of them ferry'd over to *Essex* Side, and making great haste, some of them did swim, and many were drowned. The Seamen and Watermen, who had before join'd with them, now set upon them, and took many Prisoners, and good Pillage, from the *Young Gentlemen*, before mentioned; for the Baggage of the Yeomanry was not very considerable. The Earl of *Clarendon* tells us, they found many Persons in *Essex* ready to join them; the

the *Essexians* having purpos'd to have past over into *Kent*, if they had not been prevented, by their unexpected coming to them, after they were driven over the Water by General *Fairfax*.

Much talk has been of the Siege of *Colchester*, and the brave Defence that was made; but few consider the Causes, that lengthen'd out the Siege: several little Insurrections in distant Counties divided the Parliament's Forces; but more especially, the expected Invasion of the *Scots*: Commotions about *London*, made it necessary to keep a good Body of Troops thereabouts, and all this was the diminishing of General *Fairfax's* Army; tho' I believe the main Cause was the saving of the Lives of the Men, and a Desire to reduce the Place with as little Blood-shed as possible, which the Royallists fondly imagin'd, was an Effect of his Fear of them: Whereas, in Truth, he had them in a Coop, and the keeping of them there a starving, was a Part of their Punishment.

No Historian ever prepar'd for his Events so well as his Lordship: The Royallists being to keep their ground at *Colchester*, that they may do it with the more Reputation, the Townsmen are made their Enemies, *they were not glad of their Company*; and truly I believe there was not a Town in *England*, that would have been glad of it. And then to shew what a rash Officer the wary General *Fairfax* was, he was for entering the Town presently, when he saw there were no Fortifications. But Fortifications or not Fortifications, 'tis all one to the Cavaliers, they are always like *Widdrington* in *Cherry-Chace*, and *Fairfax* found so rude Resistance, that he turn'd the Siege into a Blockade; for tho' the Town was not fortify'd, there was no taking of it from the Royallists, but by Famine.

I fancy the History of the Prince's Fleet will be as pleasant, as any of the former Histories.

- Pag. 155. "The City of London was to be courted by all Artifices imaginable; and that was so alarm'd by the Fleet's being in the River, and by the Seizure of so many of their Ships." The oddest Way of Courtship that one has met with, and it is express'd further in the Commissions which the Prince issu'd out, *to do all possible Damage and Hostility in their Shipping, Commerce, and Navigation, and to take, and apprehend, sink, and fire, and otherwise impair and destroy their Ships, Vessels, Men, and Goods, &c.* "The Fleet, at their Entrance into the River of *Thames*;" that is, the Downs, as in *Whitlocke*; tho' I thought before, that his Royal Highness's Fleet had been in *Long Reach*. In *Whitlocke* also we have some reasonable Account of his coming into the Downs; he wrote a Letter to the Merchants to send him 20000*l.* and they should have their Ships, particularly the Cloth Ship mentioned by the Earl of *Clarendon*; for the Redemption of which, and the rest, 12000*l.* was sent the Prince. 'Twas suppos'd, says the Earl, some Parliament-Men had more Money on board that Vessel than the Cloth was worth; and again, there was somewhat else, besides Cloth, in the Body of the Ship, and yet there was no Search made: which was a Wonder, considering what a precious thing Money was a-board his Royal Highness's Fleet. This Cloth Ship was bound for *Rotterdam*, and there was not likely to be much ready Cash in the Body of her, *Hist. Reb.* But there was a *Guinea* Ship taken by the Lord *Willoughby*, Vice-Admiral of the Prince's Fleet, which had in her near 20000*l.* in Gold, and belong'd to Mr. *Rowland Wilson*, whose Son commanded a Regiment in the Parliament's Service; tho' he was to inherit an Estate, which would have bought all the boasted Lands

Lands of ten Colonels in the other Army. *The Wind being in the Prince's Face, drove him back out of the River.* Again, the Earl of *Warwick*, as the *Wind stood, could not be compell'd to fight*: Wherefore, being in Distress of Provisions, 'was thought more counsellable to put to Sea. *Ludlow* informs us very bluntly, that instead of compelling *Warwick* to fight, the Prince's Fleet fled, and was pursu'd to the Coast of *Holland*. "The Prince, presuming either that the Earl of *Warwick* would not fight him, or perhaps come over to him, lay some time in Expectation; but finding by the manner of his Approach, that he was deceived, he thought it convenient to make all the Sail he could to the Coast of *Holland*, and *Warwick* follow'd him to the *Texel*." However, IF instead of making so much Sail to *Holland*, the Prince's Fleet had sail'd to the Isle of *Wight*, the King might probably have been releas'd, *Hist. Reb.* p. 166.

Indeed the Earl of *Clarendon* does not say his Royal Highness made all the Sail he could from the Earl of *Warwick*; he, on the contrary, intimates, that the Prince's Fleet would have compell'd him to fight, had it not been for want of Provisions, tho' a little Beef will do in the Time of Battle: But there was another Reason; the Earl of *Lauderdale* came from *Duke Hamilton*, to demand the Performance of the Treaty with the Scots; Part of which was, that his Royal Highness should command the Covenanters in Person; in order to which, says the Lord *Clarendon*, it was absolutely necessary to carry the Fleet first to *Holland*: I thought it had been absolutely necessary to carry the Fleet to the North of *England*, or *Scotland*, in order to his Heading the Scots. *Whitlocke* gives us another Reason for Sailing so fast away to *Holland*, p. 328. *The Prince had a Design to go to the Scots Army, but the Sailors would not let him*: And

P. 167.

afterwards hearing of the Defeat of the Scots Army, he alter'd his Course. The Lord Clarendon: So the Fleet went to Sea, and continued their Course for Holland; nor did the Prince hear so much as a Rumour of the Rout of the Scots, till a Day after he came to the Hague.

If I am not mistaken, there is a great Ridiculum in giving Importance to Things that are not so; such as making the Fate of Nations depend on a Skirmish at Land, or a few Captures at Sea, and putting many wise Heads together to produce Counsels that carry with them the visible Marks of Rashness and Impotence.

I promised my self to have no more to do with his Lordship's IF's; and probably if the War had not been revived by the Royallists, who, I conceiv'd, had had beating enough already, I should have been rid of them by this time: But new Encounters occasioning new Disgraces, there will be no way of carrying the Cavaliers handsomely off, but by some more of those IF's.

P. 16c.

They are enter'd into England, and the Northern Royallists have join'd them; and IF they had continued their March to the Place where Lambert was, it is very probable they had broken his Forces, or he had broken theirs; more Forces being ready to join him, had the Scots march'd that way. Instead of which, Duke Hamilton sent him a Compliment, that he intended him no hurt, *Whitl. p. 316.* And Lambert's Answer shews how much he was afraid of his marching against him: *As to your coming in an hostile way into England, I will oppose you to the utmost, and fight you and your Army as Traytors; not doubting but this Breach of Treaty will be revenged upon you to your utter Ruin.* However, as his Lordship writes, Lambert march'd away in great Disorder and Confusion, not into Yorkshire, but to the Edge of it. Which is very like what *Whit-*
locke

locke says, that Lambert's Forces beat the Scots *P. 320.* Scouts to their Guards. He had but 3 or 4000 Men with him; Duke Hamilton had at least 21000. And Cromwell was advancing to the Assistance of Lambert; which made the latter avoid a Battle. When Cromwell and Lambert's Forces were join'd, they did not make 8000 Horse and Foot: And therefore, instead of IF Sir Marmaduke Langdale had had one thousand Foot more, he should have gain'd the day, *Hist. Reb. p. 162.* IF the 21000 Men that were with Duke Hamilton and him could not beat 8000; those Heads must needs be very good, that advis'd the second Scots Invasion two Years after. And, considering how bravely the Scots Army came off at this time, there is no great Occasion of entering with the Earl of Clarendon into the Consultations by which it was brought into England.

The next glorious Business is the rallying of the routed Scots and Cavaliers, and their joining with Monroe, who was marching with more Covenanters to join Duke Hamilton. The Chief of the Cavaliers is Sir Thomas Tildesley, a Gentleman of a fair Estate, who had serv'd the King from the beginning of the War; but his Lordship sinks his being a Papist too, because in that beginning we were told, there was but one Papist of any considerable Command in all the King's Army. Now, IF Monroe and Tildesley had pursued Cromwell, as Cromwell pursued the Scots, &c. It is so in the History of the Rebellion, Vol. III. Part I. p. 170. Then something might have been done. But Monroe would not be persuaded to fight Cromwell's 8000 Men with no more than 5000 Men; a great part of whom had been just beaten in an Army of above 20000 Men. He rather chose to return to Scotland, and having before plunder'd the Northern Counties in his Advance, he spar'd
R 4 them

them not in his Retreat; for which those ought to have the Thanks that invited the *Scots* into *England*, and that drew the *English* into *Scotland*. *Whitlocke* gives us a Piece of News out of the North, which has more Simplicity and Sincerity in it, than a thousand Passages in the most famous Histories. The *English Cavaliers* swear they are bewitch'd, and will fight no more. But the Exiles abroad, and the Desperadoes at home will not let them be unbewitched. They matter not what Blood is squander'd; and indeed, Men may be reduced to that miserable Condition, as to be made happy by being kill'd: but the poor guiltless People, who were tempted by them to take Arms, and were continually expos'd to Slaughter, should have met with a little more Mercy and Compassion from them.

"The Earl of *Holland* thought it necessary to begin his Enterprize for the Relief of *Colchester*," *Hist. Reb. p. 174*. And the Parliament was so afraid of him, that tho' they knew he was to raise another Army against them, yet they durst not stop him. I am sure, this at least is good History.

Pag. 175.

"There was a great Appearance every Morning at his Lodging, of those Officers who were known to have serv'd the King; his Commissions shew'd in many hands. No Question, no, not *What's a-clock*, being more commonly ask'd, than, *When doth my Lord Holland go out?* The Answer was, *Such a day, and such a day*; and the Hour he did take Horse, when he was accompany'd by a hundred Horse from his House, was publickly talk'd of two or three days before." It was very easy for a Detachment of Constables to have defeated this Cavalry, if the Parliament had thought fit. Of consequence then, they must either let him and his Horsemen go out of Fear, or slyly wink at it, that

that when they had hold of him, which they knew would not be long first, they might have an Excuse to cut off his Head. The Earl of *Clarendon* seems to think it was the Fear in both Parliament and Army, that the City would join him, if they should send him to Jail. To seek for something which looks reasonable, we will refer to *Whitlocke*, who, instead of flattering the Earl with any Heroical Sentiments on this Incident, tells us, what every Man, in the plain way of Thinking, must have thought upon it, not only as to this mad Enterprize, but the Insurrections in *Wales*, *Kent*, the *Scots* Invasion, and the Siege of *Colchester*, which do all favour much of the Witchcraft above-mentioned. The Earl of *Holland* told an Acquaintance of his not long before, 'That a considerable Party would soon rise. To which that Acquaintance wisely reply'd, "The Parliament's Army is framed of a Body of old Soldiers, prosperous in their Actions, and well provided of all Necessaries; and that it would be a rash and desperate Attempt for any to imagine to make a Head against them, and to raise a new Body; that there was no Trust to be given to People's Minds, or Promises, in such Designs, who would not stir, except they saw the Tide turning, and some precedent Success, which could not be in this Case; but those who should adventure upon such a Business, would certainly be lost in it." Unless People had really been bewitch'd, some such Thoughts as these must have enter'd into their Heads. The Earl of *Holland*, the Duke of *Buckingham*, and his Brother the Lord *Francis Villiers*, and the Earl of *Peterborough*, rendezvous'd about 500 Horse at *Kingston*, in order to relieve *Colchester*; but before they stir'd thence, they summon'd in the Country to join them; and, what the Lord *Clarendon* does not tell

tell us, plunder'd it, where their Ends were not answer'd. *Whitl. p. 312.* The Earl was soon defeated, and flying to St. Neots in *Huntingtonshire*, the Parliament's Forlorn routed his Party before their Body could come up; and upon their coming up, they fled; many of them fell in the Charge and Rout, as Colonel *Dalbier*, and Mr. *Digby*, Son to Sir *Kenelm Digby*, another good Catholick too. The Earl of *Holland* crav'd Quarter in his Chamber, and had it; with him were taken Sir *Gilbert Gerrard*, Colonel *Skemister*, Major *Holland*, Major *Stepkin*, Lieutenant-Colonel *Goodwin*, and a hundred Prisoners. The Lord *Clarendon* says, "The Earl of *Holland* deliver'd himself up without Resistance; yet at the same time, *Dalbier* and *Kenelm Digby* were kill'd upon the Place; whether out of former Grudges, or that they offer'd to defend themselves, were not known." But known it was, that the Earl of *Holland's* Party was charged and routed, and that *Dalbier* and *Digby* fell in the Rout or the Charge.

It does not appear by the History of the Rebellion, that these desperate Insurrections, and the spilling of so much innocent Blood, was any Fault at all; or that the miserable Destruction at *Colchester*, deserv'd the least Animadversion: therefore, when Sir *Charles Lucas* and Sir *George Lisle* were shot by Sentence of a Council of War, his Lordship calls it a Murder. But the starving to many poor Creatures in the Town, and the Slaughter of so many hundreds in the Town and about the Town, that was no Murder. Most humane also was the Saying of the Earl of *Norwich* to the Women who cry'd out for Bread, *You must eat your Children*, *Whitl. p. 325.* Sir *Charles Lucas* too, one of the two Prisoners that were shot, had been guilty of murdering several of the Parliament's Soldiers in cold Blood, *Whitl. p. 329.* "Sir *Charles*
" *Lucas*

" *Lucas* fell dead, upon which Sir *George Lisle* ran to him, embraced and kissed him, and then stood up, and look'd those who were to execute him in the Face." *Hist. Reb. p. 177.* Now *Whitlocke, p. 329.* "Sir *George Lisle* kiss'd his dead Friend, and then, after much Expostulation and Discourse, first with the General's Chaplains, and then with one of the Lord *Norwich's* Chaplains, he said his Prayers, and was shot." Now the History of the Rebellion; *The Manner of taking the Lives of these worthy Men was new, and without Example.* For the Cavaliers hanging up twelve Clothiers at once in *Wiltshire*, was no Example, and concluded by most Men to be very barbarous; but there was no Barbarity at all in murdering several of the Parliament's Soldiers in cold Blood; and the Assassination of Colonel *Rainsborough*, was a noble Enterprize, which no brave Enemy would have reveng'd by executing the Assassins. See *Whitl. p. 342.* "Forty Horse sallied out of *Pomfret* towards *Doncaster*, where they kill'd the Centinel; then three of them rode forwards, asking for Colonel *Rainsborough's* Quarters; coming to his Chamber, they call'd to him, and said they had a Letter from Lieutenant-General *Cromwell.* The Colonel rose out of his Bed, and open'd his Door to them; the three Soldiers presently fell upon him, shot him into the Neck, and another shot him into the Heart, with other Wounds, and left him dead, escaping away without any Alarm given." This Butchery takes up a Page or two of the History, tho' it is so shocking, that 'twill hardly bear reading by a Christian Reader. The chief Assassin was one *Morrice*, who is call'd a Colonel. He first deserted the King's Army, then the Parliament's; he afterwards betray'd his Friend Colonel *Cotteral*, Governour of *Pomfret*, who admitted

mitted him so far into his Friendship, that he lay in bed with him. *Morrice* by this means form'd a Design to surprize the Castle and his Friend in it; which being accomplished, the next heroical Exploit was to murder a naked Gentleman, with the help of two or three of his Fellow-Murderers. But when he is going to the Gallows, it is poor *Morrice*, and there is a Judgment sent after him, not for the Blood of Colonel *Rainsborough*, which cry'd out for Vengeance, but for his being once a Soldier for the Parliament. He was hang'd in the Place where he first perform'd a great Service for the Rebels; *Hist. Reb. p. 192.* His Lordship is so very intent upon excusing this Action, that the Matter is soften'd in the Representation; tho' with all the softning, the Blood sticks, and the Wounds seem to bleed afresh. "Two of them" went up to his Chamber-door, awak'd him with "the Noise, told him in short, he was their Prisoner, and must go with them to *Pomfret*, or be kill'd immediately. He said he would wait upon them. So he dress'd himself. One of them took his Sword, and then they led him down stairs. When *Rainsborough* came into the Street, which he expected to find full of Horse, he began to struggle and cry out; whereupon they immediately ran him thro' with their Swords, and left him dead upon the Ground." Poor *Morrice* was one of the Gallant Party, as his Lordship terms them, *p. 190.* *Rainsborough* was truly a Gallant Officer, perfectly well vers'd in Military Affairs by Sea and Land. And *Oliver* instructed *Lambert* to take full Vengeance; but *Lambert*, when he reduced the Garrison of *Pomfret*, was very civil to the Royallists, and, the Earl says, call'd the Murderers of Colonel *Rainsborough*, Gallant Men, *p. 192.*

We

We are come to another Instance of Cruelty on the Parliament's side. Their Seamen, when they took any *Irish* Ships, were wont to tye Merchants and Mariners Back to Back, and fling them into the Sea, *Hist. Reb. p. 206.*

There are several very good Reasons for *Morrice's* surprizing *Pomfret-Castle*, if there can be a very good Reason for betraying one's Friend; as that it was part of the Queen's Jointure; that it was a noble Royalty and Palace; that the House was very large, with all Offices suitable; that it stood near the top of a Hill, and had a Prospect of the West-Riding of Yorkshire, Lincolnshire, and Nottinghamshire; and that it was plentifully supply'd with Water. While it remain'd in the Hands of the Parliament's Forces, it was a sort of a good-for-nothing Place, not worth Description; but now 'tis likely to be stolen from them, it makes a handsome Figure in a beautiful Landskip. Thus Sincerity and Simplicity may be as signal in a Castle or a House, as in a Character or Representation; and it is their descending so low, which makes it worth notice.

In the Management of the last *Isle of Wight* Treary, is seen the incorrigible Spirit of the Party, which had brought his Majesty into such Distress by their evil Counsels, and their Obstinacy in pursuing them. Every good *Englishman* cannot but with heartily, that there had been Men of true Wisdom and Moderation about the King to have inclin'd him to an Agreement with the Parliament on Terms that might be for their Safety, as well as his Honour; and notwithstanding the Inveteracy of the Royallists, who would not be satisfy'd with Peace without Revenge, his Majesty was perswaded to Concessions equally gracious and good, which, had they taken Effect, would have made him and his People, his and their Heirs and Successors happy.

As

Eschard,
p. 765,
766.

Vol. III.
Part I.
pag. 312.

Pag. 213.

As to the Proposition, that the Parliament had been *necessitated to enter into the War* to be acknowledged by the King, the Earl says, *'Twas monstrous, horrid, and contrary to known Truth.* Did not Sir *Harbottle Grimston*, Speaker of that Parliament which brought in the King, declare, in the Name of that Assembly, *The Sword was drawn to bring Delinquents to Punishment, and to vindicate their just Liberties?* If what the Speaker and the Parliament declar'd be true, they were *necessitated to enter into the War*; and the Proposition was so far from being horrid and monstrous, that his Lordship himself owns the King had done the same thing in the *Scots Act of Indemnity*; and it was so reasonable to be done in *England* too, that his Majesty consented to it. The noble Historian very justly fears, that Delinquents might be brought to Punishment, if it was proved that they necessitated the Parliament to enter into the War; and as he was himself so much one of them as to be excepted out of the Parliament's Pardon, this Proposition must doubtless be *horrid and monstrous* to him. It was to *naturalize REBELLION, and to make it current in the Kingdom to all Posterity.* By Rebellion, the Earl means nothing else but *Resistance in Cases of Extreme Necessity*, asserted with a true *English Spirit* at the Trial of *Sacheverell* by the Queen, Lords, and Commons in Parliament assembled; by that pious Queen to whom the History of the Rebellion is dedicated, and whose Title to the Crown was at the same time founded upon Resistance, there being nothing of Hereditary in it while the Person was living whom her Father own'd to be his Son. Such Resistance is indeed naturaliz'd, but not the Rebellion of *Mar, Forster, &c.* against the best of Princes, whose Care of his People's Rights has been greater than their own. Such Rebels are the proper Subjects
for

for such History, if one had Rancour and Expression sufficient. The Earl says further, they had not the *least Shadow of Reason* for that Proposition. And because this is so wonderfully Sincere and Simple, I refer the Reader to what is in the preceding Page of that very History. *The two Houses and the Kingdom cannot decline this particular Demand, without which they cannot believe themselves in any Security; since by the Letter of the Law, they who had adhered to the Parliament might seem guilty of raising War against the King, and so come under the Statute of 25 Edw. III. whereas by the Construction and Equity thereof, they were justify'd, &c.* Here is not the least Shadow of Reason; and the Simplicity and Sincerity are extremely remarkable.

I do expect something extraordinary concerning the second Proposition relating to the Church; *the abolishing Episcopacy; selling Bishops and Deans Lands, taking the Covenant, &c.* All which is bad in the highest Degree; but there is something worse still to come. *The Reformation of Religion, suppressing Innovations in Churches, the Advancement of Preaching, the Observation of the Lord's Day, against Pluralities, Non-Residence, and Papists.* Intolerable! It is what makes this Proposition pregnant, full of monstrous Particulars, Hist. Reb. p. 216. In the Discussion of the Article of Episcopacy, the Earl compares the Presbyterian Ministers to so many Mastiff-Dogs; the Commissioners *let them loose upon the King, who was much better vers'd in the Argument than they were.* Sincerity and Simplicity again! That his Majesty knew much of the Argument, is certain; but it is not so certain that he knew more than three or four Divines, Men of Learning and Abilities, who had made it their Study all their Life-time. Then his Lordship gives us the Argument they made
use

use of ; " The common Allegations, That Bishop " and Presbyter, in the Scripture-Language, " signified one and the same thing." Allegations are always the worse for being Common. So Sense and Honesty suffer in the Adjunct, common Honesty and common Sense. If they are one and the same thing in the Scripture, let that be acknowledged, and we shall know what to think of the Argument. If they are not, let the contrary be proved, and that part of the Proposition must be given up. I have often explain'd myself on this Subject, that it is not with reference to myself, that I repeat the Arguments used by the Presbyter. I am perfectly satisfy'd with the Hierarchy in the present Establishment, and entirely sensible, that the great Powers, Dignities, and Riches which are annex'd to it, are as legal a Possession as any Man's Title to his Freehold. The Laws of the Land teach us this, and it is sufficient in my poor Judgment ; but the Scruples which lie on tender Consciences, and the Reasons urged by the Presbyterians are not answer'd in the Earl's History ; nor in the Reply to that part of the second Proposition, *The Ministers inveigh'd against Lords Bishops, their Pride and Lustre. They were always Scolding and Railing ; and behav'd themselves with that Rudeness, as if they meant to be no longer subject to a King no more than to a Bishop.* The Presbyterians were Commonwealth's-Men to a Man, according to this History ; and we have a notable Instance of it in the Address of the London Ministers of that Persuasion against the Tryal and Death of the King, *Baxter's Life*, p. 61. among whom are Dr. *Spurflow* and Mr. *Jenkyn*. Another notable Instance of their being *Republicans*, is their routing the Republick afterwards, and restoring Monarchy, which is not to be contested ; or if it is, will be proved with as much

P. 216.

ease

ease as the Simplicity and Sincerity of his Lordship's History can be. I name Dr. *Spurflow* and Mr. *Jenkyn*, because the Earl names them. *Two of them very plainly and fiercely told the King, That if he did not consent to the utter abolishing Episcopacy, he would be damn'd. The Men, Jenkyn and Spurflow, liv'd after the return of King Charles II. and according to the Modesty of that Race of People, came to kiss his Majesty's Hand, and continu'd the same Zeal in all Seditious Attempts.* The Pregnancy of this Paragraph is much more fruitful than that of the Parliament's Proposition ; and one of its Offspring about *Jenkyn and Spurflow*, has the misfortune never to have been conceiv'd ; for Dr. *Spurflow* and Mr. *Jenkyn* were not sent down to the *Ile of Wight* with the *Parliament's Commissioners*, but Dr. *Seaman*, Mr. *Marshall*, Mr. *Vines*, and Mr. *Caryl*, *Whitl.* p. 336. They are mention'd again without either *Spurflow* or *Jenkyn*, *Baxter's Life*, Vol. I. p. 57. Dr. *Calamy* confirms what is said there in the Account he gives of those Two Ministers, Vol. II. for he does not say they were at the *Ile of Wight*, which he says of Dr. *Seaman*, and gives this Reason for it ; *He was well study'd in the Controversy of Church Government, and his Majesty took notice of the Doctor's singular Ability in the Debates.* However we must allow that the King knew more not only than Dr. *Seaman*, but all the Divines who attended to give his Majesty Reasons for passing the Proposition. Another Proof of the Pregnancy of the Earl's Paragraph is, that Dr. *Spurflow* should say the King would be damn'd ; a way of thinking and speaking very much *en Cavalier*, but not in practice among the Puritans and Dissenters : and that he said it *fiercely too* ; a way of speaking quite contrary to the Temper of Dr. *Spurflow*, whose Conversation was innocent, chearful, and every acceptable, and his Disposition very peaceable. *Calam. ib. p. 471.*

S

It

It was a most impudent thing of the Doctor to offer to kiss the King's Hand, when he had no more Encouragement for it than being made one of his Majesty's Chaplains in Ordinary. Yet, as another Instance of this Paragraph's Pregnancy, all the Professors of the reform'd Religion in *Holland, France, Germany, Swisserland, Geneva, Scotland, &c.* are upbraided with their Brazen Faces: *According to the Modesty of that Race of People.* 'Tis sometimes a *Gang*, sometimes a *Pack*, sometimes a *Herd*, and when the Humour is a little better, a *Race of People.* This Paragraph has not yet done bringing forth, *Jenkyn came to kiss his Majesty's Hand.* This is still more impudent, all his Pretence for it was, That he was like to have been hang'd for *Love's* Presbyterian Plot to restore the King ten Years before the Restoration. He was so Seditious, that when a Petition was drawn up for him by *Dr. Arthur*, to be presented to the Parliament to save his Life, he could hardly be brought to sign it on account of the Titles that Assembly assum'd to themselves, and which he would not recognize by an Address to them.

I hope the Reader will allow this to be a pregnant Paragraph. Here it is said, the *Presbyterians* would be no longer subject to a King no more than to a *Bishop*, and the very first Plot for restoring the King is by Presbyterian Ministers, *Mr. Love, Dr. Drake, Mr. Case, &c.* Nay, *Mr. Jenkyn*, the very Man who was in all *Seditious Attempts* against that King. Match me this if you can, and yet something worse is to come still. This same *Mr. Jenkyn* was after the Restoration thrown into *Newgate* for being a *Presbyterian*; and being taken dangerously ill there, upon a Petition for his Release, with a Certificate from his Physicians, no other Answer could be procured than this, *Jenkyn shall be a Prisoner as long as he lives, Cal. Bax.*
Vol.

Vol. II. p. 20. The very *Mr. Jenkyn* who was one of the first Men that were condemn'd to die for contriving the King's Restoration.

"The King prest them with those Texts of Scrip-
"ture which have been constantly urged by those
"who maintain the *Jus divinum* of Bishops, the Au-
"thority of the Fathers, and the Government of
"all Christian Churches for 1500 Years by constant
"and uniform Practice, &c." All which is very fair.
There is not a *Presbyterian* in the World who de-
nies *Episcopacy* as it was practis'd in the Primitive
Christian Church; and the Sophistry of the Ar-
gument lies in supposing that after the Empire be-
came Christian, and the Emperors heap'd Ho-
nours, Riches, and Powers on the Prelates, nay,
after the Prelates had usurp'd Sovereignities and
temporal Dominion and Authority, yet still the
Episcopacy was the very same, as when the Holy
Apostles, and their Holy Successors exercis'd their
Divine Function in Purity and Poverty. *The Go-*
vernment of the Church could not but be by themselves
acknowledg'd to have been by Bishops; such as the
Bishops of *Rome, Toledo, Munster, &c.* These
Gentlemen will not speak out: The Parliament's
Commissioners explain'd the Proposition, *Whil.*
p. 351. It is not the Apostolical Bishop which the
Bill desires his Majesty to remove, but that Episcopacy
which was formerly establish'd by Law, grown up to a
height of outward Pomp and Greatness, and found
by Experience to be a Grievance to the Subject, a
Hindrance to Piety, an Incroachment upon the Power
of the Civil Magistrate, and so a Burthen to the Per-
sons, Purfes and Consciences of Men. There is not
one Word of Answer to all this; but instead of
it, a perpetual Supposition that there was no
difference between *St. Paul's* Episcopacy at *Rome*,
and *Pope Sextus* the Vth's. *St. Paul's* Episcopacy
had no outward Pomp, was no Grievance to the
Sub-

Subject, no Hindrance to Piety, no Inroad on the Power of the Civil Magistrate, no Burthen to the Persons, Purfes, and Consciences of Christians. But Archbishop *Laud's* Episcopacy in the High-Commission-Court, Star-Chamber, at the Council-Board, Treasury-Board, &c. had those amiable Qualities, which the Parliament not being so much in love with as the Historian, they were willing to abolish it.

I never turn over this Part of the History of *England*, but I am extremely affected with the King's Conduct in it. His gracious Concessions, and the Hopes that were given by them for a lasting Peace, and an end of all our Divisions. My Wishes go with every Article of those Concessions, beyond which, it was not consistent with the King's Honour, or the Peoples Good, for him to comply. It was well known the Army were contriving how to frustrate all Endeavours for a happy Conclusion of the Treaty, that they were marching to a Rendezvous from all Parts, and when they were got together, would certainly undo all that had been done at the *Ile of Wight*, and proceed capitally against the Person of the King. Was not this enough to soften the most obdurate Minds, and make them sacrifice their own Safety, and their own paltry Interest, to the security of his Majesty's Crown and Life? No, the Debate about Episcopacy was continued so long, that the Army had time to concert their dreadful Measures, and publish a Declaration which dissolv'd the Treaty at once, and the Constitution soon after. They follow'd their Declaration with 20000 Horse and Foot; after which it was easily foreseen what would come of the inflexible Counsels of such as hinder'd his Majesty from giving a quicker Answer to the Proposition about the Church. *Whitlocke* speaks of it

thus; "More could not be obtain'd of his Majesty, tho' most earnestly begg'd of him by some of the Commissioners, Great Persons, with Tears, and on their Knees; particularly as to the Proposition touching *Religion*, wherein the Church Government, and publick Worship, and chiefly the Revenues of the Clergy, sway'd more with the King's Chaplains, and they more with his Majesty (continually whispering matter of Conscience to him) than the Parliament, and all their Commissioners could prevail for an Agreement, though possibly his own Judgment might not be so fully convinced by his eager Divines." 'Tis Matter of eternal Lamentation that they should have been so eager about their Revenues, when no less than the King's Life as well as Crown lay at stake, as long as the Army had Time to rendezvous; and the Terror the excepted Delinquents were in of *National Justice*, furnish'd them with Vehemence enough in their Arguments against the delivering them up, whereas it was a very idle Imagination that any good would come of the War. If Offenders were not punish'd, and the Guilty made Examples, the People would have been after the War where they were before, and evil Counsellors have been more encourag'd than ever to continue their evil Counsel; for if they could not then be brought to Punishment after the Expence of so much Blood and Treasure, after those that demanded Justice against them, had it in their Power to give the Law to such as had broken it, what Hopes that Delinquents would hereafter be under any Controul, and not be still having recourse to Arbitrary Power for their Protection? Had Hecatombs of such Lives been made the Price of so precious a Life as their Royal Master's, it had been but a poor Sacrifice; but these Loyal,

Generous Gentlemen were so far from giving up themselves, that they would hardly give up a Place, or a Benefice, to save their Sovereign.

In the Debate about Church-Government, the Earl intimates, that his Majesty put all the Presbyterian Ministers to silence by the single Force of his own Arguments; in which, however, he was assisted by Dr. Duppa, Dr. Juxon, Dr. Henchman, Dr. Holdsworth, Dr. Turner, who probably could not give him so good Assistance as the other two, Dr. Sanderson and Dr. Morley. His Majesty had other Divines to help him, and the Commissioners only three or four Parsons of the Presbytery, who, all put together, did not know so much as the King. *Hist. Reb.*

All this while the Army were preparing for the Tragedy, which they soon acted; and every one saw plain enough what they drove at, which had been prevented by the King's closing immediately with the Parliament, who would have been glad to have joined Forces with him to support that Treaty, their own Preservation depending upon it as much as the King's.

One of the first direct and open Attempts against his Majesty's Person, was a Petition from Col. Ingoldsby's Regiment, for Justice against the Principal Invaders of their Liberties, namely the King. It is miraculous that such a Petition should come from a Regiment, whose Colonel, says the Earl, always abhor'd the Action. It must be own'd, that the Opposition of his Lordship's History to others, and to the Fact, very often is equally direct and surprizing. And nothing more so than this; *It is almost evident that the major part of both Houses of Parliament was, at that Time, so far from desiring the execution of those Concessions, that if they had been able to have resisted the wild Fury of the Army, they would have been themselves Suitors to have declined the*

greatest

greatest Part of them; for which there is not the least Shadow of Reason; and one may defy all Writers or Readers of History, to give a single Instance of any such Disposition in the Majority of the Parliament. On the contrary, the Commissioners at the *Ile of Wight* fell on their Knees and wept, to move the King's Compassion to himself and the Kingdom, praying him to yield still more to the Desires of the Parliament; *Whitl. p. 335.* It will not be pretended that these Commissioners, Sir Henry Vane excepted, were not the most desirous of Peace of any Members in either House of Parliament, most of them being secluded a few days after for that only Reason; and they were so far from being Suitors to the King to grant less, that, as we have said, with Tears and Kneeling, they begg'd him to grant more.

The Close of the King's Letter to the Prince, which his Lordship would have preserved in Letters of Gold, has some Prints rather of an Ecclesiastical than a Civil Hand. The Church had been spoken of in the Beginning, and in the End is a Prayer which could not have been more *Orthodox*, had it been drawn up by all the Doctors about his Majesty. "We pray the ancient Glory and Renown of the Nation be not buried in Irreligion and Phanatick Humour; and that all our Subjects, to whom we are a publick Parent, may have such *sober* Thoughts, as to seek their Peace in the Orthodox Profession of the Christian Religion, as was establish'd since the Reformation in this Kingdom, and not in new Revelations." The Government of the Church by Presbyters, such as Timothy and Titus, who were also termed Bishops, was a new Revelation. Let any one in sobriety judge of this, and whether it ought to be preserv'd in Types of Gold. *Irreligion, Phanatick Humour, new Revelations*, shew very plainly what

what Mint this Epistle was coin'd in. There never was a Presbyterian who pretended to new Revelations for Church-Government; the good old Revelation in the New Testament satisfied them; and indeed, they needed no other: But to behold one Prelate mounted on a stately Courser, with a Treasurer's Staff in his hand, and another exercising Tyranny in High-Commission and Star-Chamber, or any the like Courts, was so new a Revelation, that *Titus*, or *Timothy*, or any Bishop in the old Way, would have as soon taken them for Emperors, as Bishops.

Osborn's Information against *Rolph*, for a Design to murder the King, is introduc'd with an Account of the Birth of *Osborn*; he was by *Extraction* a Gentleman, tho' recommended to Col. *Hammond* by the Lord *Wharton*. Captain *Rolph* was a Fellow of a low *Extraction*, and of very ordinary Parts, tho' he outwitted *Osborn*. And when the latter had prepared every thing for the King's Escape, in concert with *Rolph*, who was to have murder'd him when he was in their hands, the Gentleman by *Extraction* did not let the Fellow of ordinary Parts know that he intended the King should make his Escape, and *Rolph* not have it in his power to kill him; which the Man of Low *Extraction* finding out, discover'd the Plot to *Hammond*, who found the Bar of the King's Window cut in two. Whereupon *Osborn* accuses *Rolph* of a Design to kill the

Pag. 234.

King. The House of Commons, says the Earl, had no mind to have the Matter examin'd farther, but the Clamour of the People was so great, that after many Delays, they voted, That it should be tried at the General Assizes at Winchester; and thither they sent their well-try'd Serjeant Wild, to be the sole Judge of that Circuit, before whom the major part of the same Jury, who found Capt. Burley guilty, was impannell'd for the Tryal of *Rolph*. This Paragraph is almost

as

as pregnant as the last. The Parliament was so far from endeavouring to sink the Matter, that they order'd the Evidence *Osborn* had given against *Rolph*, to be immediately printed; and Col. *Hammond* wrote to the Parliament, desiring that *Osborn's* Charge against Mr. *Rolph* may come to a speedy Hearing, it reflected so highly upon the Army, and upon him, and being an horrid Scandal, whereof he clears himself, Mr. *Rolph*, and all the Officers. But instead of clearing them, the Earl of *Clarendon* lays the Charge home against not only *Rolph*, but the House of Commons, who were sensible of the Plot, but would have screen'd the Plotter, and have prevented his being brought to a Trial, had it not been for the Clamour of the People; who really made no Clamour at all, nor believed a Word of the Charge given by *Osborn* against *Rolph*, who was committed by the Lords without any Cause, as the Commons said, and that they found Reason to clear him. *Whitl.* p. 323. They also order'd him one Hundred and Fifty Pounds, for his unjust Imprisonment, p. 330. And the same impartial Author, p. 316, writes thus: "The King declared to divers of his Party, and wish'd them to declare it to others, that the Governour, Col. *Hammond*, was a Man of Honour and Trust, and had carried himself civilly and respectfully to his Majesty; That *Osborn* had unjustly and ungratefully aspers'd the Governour, for Col. *Hammond* was charged by *Osborn* as well as *Rolph*. And as touching the Preservation of his Person from Poison, or any such horrid Design, the King said he was so confident of the Honesty and Faithfulness of the Governour, that he thought himself as safe in his Hands, as if he were in the custody of his own Son. However, the Earl says, *Osborn* made all good upon Oath, and the Parliament sent down their Judge Wild on purpose to clear *Rolph*, as he had been employ'd

Hist. Reb. ploy'd to hang *Burley*, and by the very same *Jury*, p. 234. Which is so very likely, that it is pity there had not been something in *Osborn's* Plot, to see what *Wild* would have made of it. The truth is, the Grand Jury return'd the Bill *Ignoramus*, and so it never came to a Petty Jury, tho' his Lordship remembers the Speech the Judge made to them.

I confess what follows of the History, to the Death of the King, is full of Horror, and the Earl's Mind could not but be agitated with convulsive Sorrow when he was writing it, by considering whose Counsels brought his Majesty into that most extreme Distress, and whose Counsels hinder'd his delivering himself out of it by a speedy Peace with the Parliament.

The Speech that was made in opposition to Sir *Henry Vane's*, *Hist. Reb.* p. 236. has a very great Oddity in it. The Speaker, to reflect on Sir *Henry*, said, *He was no Gainer by the Troubles*. Now every body knows that Sir *Henry Vane* was the most disinterested Officer who ever serv'd the Publick, and when he was Treasurer of the Navy, order'd half the Profits of the Place to be apply'd to the Publick Service, amounting to two Thousand Pounds yearly; and at last, reduced the Expence of that Office to a Thousand Pounds a Year. Upon which, *Ludlow* says, *Men being brought by this means to understand that they were not placed in Employments to serve themselves, but to serve the Commonwealth*. But the Speech-maker in his Lordship's History goes on upbraiding Sir *Henry Vane*, and his Friends; *They by the War had gain'd large Revenues, and great Sums of Money, and much Wealth*. The Difference between this History and others, is not in a few Circumstances, to which all Relations are liable, but directly the reverse to other Histories; which cannot be accidentally,

Vol. III.
p. 111.

Page. 236.

dentally, but must be voluntarily, and its Merit therefore the more worthy Consideration.

There was a pleasant Motion in the House by some sturdy Members, *Hist. Reb.* p. 237. *That the Army might be declared Traytors*. Of which there is not one Syllable in *Whitlocke*; but he owns that the Parliament voted *his Majesty's Concessions to the Propositions of the Two Houses upon the Treaty, are sufficient Grounds for settling the Peace of the Kingdom*. This was done on the 5th of December 1648, and the Army was so provok'd at it, that the very next day Colonel *Pride* seized several Members of the House of Commons, and garbled it to the Pleasure of the Army. A great Number of Members of the Lower House being illegally secluded by the Force of the Soldiers, those that remain'd were not a legal Assembly, and all their Acts so many Nullities.

Thus the Tryal and Death of the King is not to be laid to the Charge of the Parliament, who began the defensive War; but to the Army, who turn'd it into an offensive one. The Parliament pass that good Vote when they had not Power to maintain it, and what they did afterwards was wholly under the Influence of the Officers of the Army. As bad as this Business was, the Earl of *Clarendon* makes it still worse.

There were near one Hundred Members of Parliament stopped from going into the House, *Whitl.* The Members of the House who were seized upon, were Thirty-Nine in Number, p. 355. There were above Ninety Persons who were excluded for being in Confederacy with the Scots, and for opposing the Votes against them when they invaded the Kingdom.

The House committed Major General *Browne* to Prison, though he was then Sheriff of London. What a strange Exception that is! They committed
Dr.

Dr. Laud to Prison, tho' he was Archbishop of Canterbury; nay, Charles the First was at that very Time in Prison, tho' he was King of England. 'Twas not pretended that they govern'd themselves by the known Laws of the Land. That Assembly had usurp'd the Supreme Power, and a Sheriff of London was no more to them than a Constable, if he was under their Displeasure.

Pag. 344. "When this Impeachment against the King was brought up to the Peers, it was rejected with some Warmth, and they adjourn'd for a Week." The Impeachment was not sent up at all, but this Declaratory Vote was, That by the Fundamental Laws of this Realm, it is Treason for the King of England to levy War against the Parliament. The Lords agreed that they would send an Answer by Messengers of their own, and adjourn'd for ten Days; *Whitl. p. 361.* "When the Lords came, they found their Doors all lock'd, and fasten'd with Padlocks, that there should be no more entrance for them; nor did any of them ever sit in that House as Peers." These Gentlemen did really not know what was doing, and consequently their Histories cannot agree with the true ones. *Whitl. p. 362.* About ten of the Lords sate and passed several Ordinances; the Earl assures us, they never did sit; which were sent down to the Commons, who laid them aside. And instead of the Locks and Padlocks before-mention'd, The Lords had Debates upon their last Votes, about the Tryal of the King, and that something should be publish'd, to satisfy upon what Grounds they rejected the Commission for Tryal of the King, but they resolv'd nothing: I suppose, on account of the Padlocks and Locks, which must doubtless put a stop to all their Resolutions; tho' some days after this, we find them within Doors again: The
Lords

Lords sent down an Ordinance which they had past *Whitlocke, to the House of Commons for their Concurrence. p. 364.*

We are told very formally, that there were three different Opinions among the Officers as to the disposal of the King; some were for deposing him only, some for poisoning him, and some for trying and beheading him. But who these some were, we are not told, especially those that were for poisoning; and it is well we are not, for one may fear that the Characters of the Persons would confound the History: There being very few Poisoners among the Godly, as his Lordship merrily terms them.

"The Preachers foolishly urged the Obligation of the Covenant for the Security of the King's Person, and preached furiously against trying him." The Presbyterian Ministers were all Fools, as one may perceive by the Names of those that subscribed a Protestation against the King's Tryal and Death: as,

Dr. Gouge,	Dr. Spurstow,
Dr. Stanton,	Dr. Wallis,
Dr. Temple,	Dr. Manton, and about
Dr. Seaman,	60 more; who say,

"We are wholly unsatisfy'd with the Proceedings since the Exclusion and Imprisonment of the Members of the House of Commons, and hold ourselves bound in Duty to God, Religion, the King, Parliament, and Kingdom, to profess before God, Angels, and Men, that we verily believe the taking away the Life of the King in the way of Trial now depending, is not only not agreeable to the Word of God, the Principles of the Protestant Religion, never yet stain'd with the least Drop of the Blood of a King, or the Fundamental Constitution of the Kingdom, but contrary to them; as also to the Oath of Allegiance, the Protestation of
" May

" May 5, 1641, and the Solemn League and Covenant; from all which, or any of which Engagements, we know not any Power on Earth able to absolve ourselves, or others." I thought, till I had read this Protestation, that these Ministers were so foolish as to make use of no Argument but the Covenant for saving the King; but we find there were other very good Reasons, and 'twas only the Word Covenant which made the Earl of Clarendon call three-score learned Divines Fools.

One may see who wrote the Prince of Wales's Letter to General Fairfax by the Stile and the Terms *Monstrous and Incredible*, they being the very Terms made use of in the History; the Language alike florid and abundant, and rather intended to court the Fancy than move the Passion of the General, which was at that time most necessary.

He, Serjeant Bradshaw, was a Gentleman of an antient Family in Cheshire, but of a Fortune of his own making. If that had been the worst that was to be said of him, it might have been as well left out; for what harm is there in saying the same of Mr. Hyde, He was of an antient Family in Cheshire too, but of a Fortune of his own making; it being as true of the one as of the other.

His Lordship's Character of King Charles I. is no more than was due to his Majesty, after the Historian had been so liberal of his Eulogies on the King's Servants; but it will be hard to make out, that at the Instant when he was beheaded, He had as great a share in the Hearts and Affections of his Subjects in general, was as much beloved, esteemed and longed for by the People of the three Nations, as any of his Predecessors had ever been; that is, as much as Edward the III^d, Henry the Vth, Queen Elizabeth, &c.

In

In the Tryal of the Lord Capel, we are to observe, that the Evidence of General Fairfax was required as to a Promise of Mercy; and that the General being indispos'd, he was sent to, and dissuaded from owning his Declaration at the Rendition of Colchester. One Circumstance in this Matter spoils all the rest, for General Fairfax was not sent to, nor dissuaded, but was actually present in the Court, *Whitl. p. 375.* and declar'd, that the Lord Capel was to be free from any military Execution, but not from the judicial Proceedings of a Civil Court: And the very Words of the Articles of Surrender are, That the Lords, General Officers, Captains, &c. be rendered up to Mercy, which *P. 328.* was understood to be at Discretion, and then they were under the Jurisdiction of the Parliament.

One may conceive an Idea of the Piety of the Royalists, by the Behaviour of Sir John Owen when he was condemn'd to be beheaded. He made a low Reverence, and swore a great Oath, He *Hist. Reb. pag. 268.* was afraid he should be hang'd. Their Friends brib'd several of the Members of Parliament for their Pardon; which is every whit as likely, as that they were afraid to execute Duke Hamilton, since the Scots could not but resent it; and really they were no more afraid of the Scots than they were of the Historian. Ireton's Hatred was Immortal, He spoke of the Lord Capel, and against him, *Pag. 275.* as of a Man of whom he was heartily afraid. The Roundheads were as much in fear of a Man with his Hands ty'd behind him, as if he had had a Blunderbuss upon his Shoulder. 'Tis surprising that this Air should be preserved amidst the most inconceivable Calamity and Dejection.

The unmerciful Parliament satiated themselves with Blood; and then comes the Execution of Duke Hamilton, and the Earl of Holland, whose Exits are not with so good a Grace in the History, as the

P. 272. the Lord Capell's; "He walk'd with a very serene Countenance, accompany'd with his Friend "Dr. Morley." Whitlocke says, *He had no Minister with him, nor shew'd any sense of Death approaching.* Dr. Morley was stop'd when he came to the Scaffold, as the Earl says, on account of his not being a Minister suited to the Times. The fine Character of this Lord's Virtues and Merit ought to be remember'd, when his Son was in the next Reign murder'd in the Tower.

A Description of the Year 1648. "A Year of "Reproach and Infamy above all Years, a Year "of the highest Dissimulation and Hypocrisy "that any Nation was ever cursed with. A "Year which ought to be razed out of all Records, lest Atheism, Infidelity, and Rebellion "again should propagate, &c." But among all the inexpressible *Calamities* of this Year, one more should have been added, that the History might be the most Simple and Sincere which ever was written, according to the Declaration of the judicious Dr. Felton, who certainly knows as much of History, as he does of Poetry and Criticism. The Incident I mean, is the Marquiss of Ormond's glorious Actions in Ireland; where, by the Defection of the Lord Inchiqueen, and League with the Irish Rebels, he had shut up the English Protestants almost within the Walls of Dublin. Whitlocke tells us, that this Junction with the Irish Papists was a Design hatch'd in England by the Fomenters of the second War; and it was given forth to be by Commission from the King, and there is great reason to suspect it. However, the Lord Ormond, by Proclamation, commanded Obedience to the Agreement he had made with the Popish Rebels; and he wrote to the brave Colonel Jones, Governor of Dublin, to agree to it, promising great Rewards if he would join with him, and leave the

Pre-

Pretended Parliament of England. The Colonel's Answer is worth all the Rodomontado in the History of the Rebellion. *I understand not how your Lordship came by your Power. The Parliament of England would never have consented to such a Peace as you have made with the REBELS, without any Provision for the Protestant Religion. I know not how that can be established by an Army of Papists, to whose Hands your Lordship has given up the whole Kingdom. I had rather suffer in my Trust, than to purchase to myself the Ignominy of Perfidy by any Advantage offer'd to me.* Spoken like a good English-Man and a good Protestant. And among the Miseries of this miserable Year, should not the Earl have remember'd, That the Protestants of Ireland had been betray'd and abandon'd to the Rage of their Enemies, who had lately massacred 200000 of them in cold Blood; and that those who betray'd and abandon'd them, are the most Heroical of his Heroes. This would have been somewhat like Simplicity and Sincerity. Some Articles of the Lord Ormond's Treaty with those Rebels were,

That the Papists have free Exercise of Religion, to enjoy Church-Livings and Jurisdiction.

The Papists to have a Parliament. All Laws and Indictments against them to be vacated.

To be chosen Members of Parliament.

To have all Honours, Trusts, and Employments.

To appoint Justices of the Peace.

To be Commissioners of Oyer and Terminer, and decide Causes.

To have an Act of Oblivion.

All Incapacities of Natives to be taken away.

To have their Estates restor'd to them.

To have no Differences try'd in England.

All Governours of Forts to be by Approbation of Popish Commissioners.

T

And

And thirty more such Articles equally to the Advantage of the *English* and Protestant Interest in *Ireland*, and to the Honour of the Maker, the Marquiss of *Ormond*.

Nothing can excuse the meddling with the Character of King *Charles* the First, but the Flattery which gilds it in the Earl of *Clarendon's* History. That unfortunate Prince had been so barbarously used by the Army, that it were Cruelty to persecute his Memory after his Person had been so persecuted: but his Lordship's dwelling so much upon those Qualities which are not to be found in other Histories, provokes one to tell what we do find there.

Lord *Clar*. He kept State to the full, which made his Court very orderly, no Man presuming to be seen in a Place where he had no pretence to be.

Mr. *Coke*. "He was unaffable in his Conversation, and Approaches to him very difficult; and those with such strain'd Submissions, as were never requir'd by any of his Predecessors."

Lord *Clar*. He was a patient Hearer of Causes, which he frequently accusom'd himself to at the Council-Board, and judg'd very well, and was dextrous in the mediating Part; so that he often put an end to Causes by persuasion.

Mr. *Coke*. "As his Actions were without Counsel, sudden and inconsiderate, so were his Resolutions as variable and uncertain; so that oftentimes he would change them the same Day. And as his Actions were without Counsel, so his Designs were without Secrecy; which blasted them as well at home as abroad."

Lord *Clar*. He was very punctual and regular in his Devotions. He was never known to enter upon his Recreations and Sports, tho' never so early in the Morning, before he had been at publick Prayers.

Mr.

Mr. *Coke*. "He was bred from his Infancy in a most luxurious and flattering Court; tho' he avoided the Luxury, yet the Flattery of it took such deep Root in him, that he would never permit free Counsel to take any Impression on him. He laid the Foundation of an unhappy Reign in Dissimulation, and was only constant in his Affections to the Queen, and her Counsels fixed stedfast in him; tho' in his Declarations to the Kingdom he profess'd otherwise. The Sincerity of which Promises and Declarations became suspected as well by his Friends as Enemies."

Lord *Clar*. To conclude; He was the worthiest Gentleman, the best Master, the best Friend, the best Husband, the best Father, and the best Christian that the Age in which he liv'd produced. I judge of all the rest by the last, the best Christian, it being what his Lordship could not know: And there are several Qualities in Christianity which are not in the Composition of his Majesty's Character, as Charity, Moderation, Forbearance, Humility, Meekness, &c.

Mr. *Coke*. "These two Things were observable in this Prince, that when any advised him against his Will, he would never ask it after, or be Friends with him; which is not a Characteristick of the best Friend. And that in his Reign, as well in Prosperity as Adversity, he would never own any one of his Irregularities to be so, but justify'd them all to his Death." The best Christian. I could very easily bring the Reverse of what the Earl says on this Subject out of other Historians, but I think it is equally unreasonable and ungenerous; and believe they are almost as partial in reproaching, as the Earl is in flattering this unhappy Prince, who, I am satisfy'd, would have made an excellent King,

had he not hearken'd to the Counsels of ambitious Favourites and bigotted Priests: And when once this King had espoused a Cause, he was unalterable, unless his evil Counsellors put him upon other Counsels. Of which, more in another Place. To shut up this most deplorable Year, we will remember, that now was concluded the famous Treaty of *Westphalia*, which established the Freedom of the *United Provinces*, and secured the Protestant Religion in *Germany*, and also restor'd the Elector Palatine to a great Part of his Country; for which, I verily believe, the Historian and his Admirers do not think this Year was one jot the less Miserable; the Royal House of *Bohemia* having never been in their good Graces, but always in the Hearts and Prayers of every good Protestant and good *English*-Man.

It is but poor History after the Year 1648; a few fruitless Negotiations, and a little unfortunate Action, make up the Substance of it. The noble Historian exercises his Office of Chancellor of the Exchequer, and Prime Minister to the King of *Great Britain*, sometimes in *France*, sometimes in *Flanders*, in *Holland*, and in *Germany*, as the Necessity of Affairs requir'd; yet the State of it is preserved as Grand and Solemn, as if the Business of the World was under the same Management. Such as are a little acquainted with those Affairs, and know what a Figure that Court and Courtiers then made, cannot but be diverted with the Lustre and Importance which the Earl gives to his History.

The next Year is open'd with an Account of the Consternation the *Dutch* were in, when they heard of the King's Death. *There was a Woman at the Hague, of the middling Rank, who, being with Child, with the horror of the mention of it, fell into Travail, and in it died.* Those Common-wealth People had more

Vol. III.

Part I.

pag. 275.

more Concern upon them for the Death of the King, than the *French* or *Spaniards*, among whom there was not one Woman that fell into Labour, and died upon it: Which not being impossible, we shall say no more of, especially since, if we will not pass things improbable, and even incredible, as is this Story of the *Dutch* Woman, we shall lose a great Part of the History of the Rebellion.

In the Character of Duke *Hamilton*, formerly Earl of *Lanerick*, are several Remarkables. *He was a Man of great Honour and Sincerity in his Nature*; of which his Lordship gave us a Proof before, *Book VII. p. 383.* *The Earl of Lanerick put the King's Signet, with the keeping whereof he was entrusted, to the Proclamation for calling that Parliament in Scotland which raised an Army to assist the Parliament of England.* *It was not thought capable of any Excuse*, says the noble Historian, *p. 461.* *He was not inferior in Wisdom and Parts of Understanding to the wisest Man of that Nation.* But being turn'd out of the Secretary's Place, for taking Arms against the King, *Vol. III. Part I. p. 34.* *Sir Robert Spotswood* was put in his Place, *a worthy, honest, loyal Gentleman, and as wise a Man as that Nation had at that time.* Thus do these Gentlemen clothe their Friends with Wisdom, and their Opponents with Folly, as it serves the Turn, and strip both again as they are in or out of Place.

I do not remember to have met with in Story such an extreme Neglect, or rather Contempt of a People, as the new Common-wealth of *England* shew'd towards the *Scots*, who had proclaimed the Prince of *Wales* King, and sent Commissioners to invite him to *Scotland* on his declaring himself a Presbyterian and taking the Covenant, which he did three times, and humbled himself for the Sins of his Father, and the Impieties of his Mother,

with a great deal more of the like Compliances :
Coke, Vol. For, says my Author, *he desir'd above all things to be a King de Facto*. However, it seem'd ridiculous to all sober Men, that the Scots Commissioners would not suffer *Montrose* to come into the King's Presence while they were there, only because he had been Excommunicated and Forefaulted. The Lord *Clarendon* informs us, his Majesty's Council was full of Indignation at it ; and much I suppose the Commissioners of Scotland matter'd ; but King *Charles II.* countenanc'd the Marquiss of *Montrose* the more for it : and because the same Commissioners desir'd that *Dr. Wisbart*, who wrote *Montrose's* History, might not preach before them, he being also under Excommunication, his Majesty heard him with more Attention. Indeed, these wife Counsellors, in the Reigns both of Father and Son, were all for doing things, as our late famous Historians write, by the Rule of Contraries ; and they prospered accordingly.

There is a Conversation at the *Hague* between Duke *Hamilton* and a Privy-Counsellor, *Hist. Reb.* which carries with it deep Marks of Wisdom. That Privy-Counsellor is the Noble Historian himself, who told Duke *Hamilton*, That the King ought chiefly to depend for his Restoration on that Party who had serv'd his Father. And if he had so depended, neither the King nor the Privy-Counsellor had ever been restored.

The Consultations about sending the Chancellor of the Exchequer Ambassador Extraordinary to the King of *Spain*, and about the Exceptions to King *Charles II.*'s Declaration of Pardon, are equally weighty and wise, considering what a Disposition the Court of *Spain* was in to do much for his Majesty, and what a Disposition the People of *England* were in to submit, upon Condition of Pardon. The Chancellor of the Exchequer all along

along imagines, that the Eyes of the World were upon what they did at the *Hague* and elsewhere, as much as if its Fate depended upon it ; whereas in Fact, there was little more Attention given to it, than what was the effect of Curiosity. One good Reason for excepting a great Number out of the Indemnity which no body was about to accept of, was, as the Earl observes, otherwise the King would not have Confiscations enough to satisfy and reward his Party.

How natural is that part of the Story, where we are told, that *Dr. Stewart*, Dean of the King's Chappel, could not sleep all Night, because the Chancellor had mention'd in the Declaration, that some Foreign Protestants should be admitted into a Synod of *English* Divines, which, says the good Doctor, is against the Honour of the Church ; and his saying it, explains what such sort of Doctors mean by the Church. It could not be against the Honour of the reform'd Religion in *England*, to admit our Brethren of the Reformation abroad, into an *English* Synod : it might be against the Dignities, Powers, Prerogatives, Pumps, Forms, Ceremonies, &c. but it cou'd not be against the Honour of our Religion, which is the same, as to the Essence of it, as that of foreign Protestants ; tho' *Dr. Stewart* would rather have it be the same with foreign Catholics, by his great Concern for the Honour, and great Aversion to the Reformation of the Church, if it were capable of it : And if the Reform was so perfect, that 'twas incapable, there would have been no danger of foreign Divines, tho' they had been four times the Number. The Earl owns at last, that some of the wise Counsellors were of Opinion, the Declaration of Pardon was not of much Importance at that juncture, and so it slept ; which was a surer sign of Wisdom than the drawing it.

To prepare for *Monk's* betraying his Masters afterwards, the Earl of *Clarendon* informs us, That while he was fighting for the Parliament in *Ireland*, he pleas'd himself with an Opinion, that he did not therein serve against the King. What occasion for this Apology, where the Disguise is so thin, that any one may see through it? *Monk* could not please himself with that Opinion when he was routing the *Cavaliers* in *Scotland*, nor when he petition'd the Parliament, to take care that no Royallist be put into any Place of Profit or Trust. This Affectation has a Poverty in it very unworthy of the Noble Historian.

We have mention'd the Difference in Relations of Battles between the History of the Rebellion, and other Histories, the Earl's Sincerity and Simplicity being unspeakably to the Advantage of the beaten Party; which is Generous at least, if not Historical. The following Account of the Rout of the Marquis of *Ormond's* Army before *Dublin*, is in his Lordship's History: "*Jones*, a Lawyer, Governor of *Dublin*, with a Body of 3000 Foot, and three or four Troops of Horse, fell upon that Quarter which was next the Town, where they found so little Resistance, that they adventur'd upon the next; and in short, so disorder'd the whole Army, one half whereof was on the other side of the River, that the Lord Lieutenant, after he had, in the Head of some Officers whom he drew together, charged the Enemy with the loss of many of those who follow'd him, was, at last, compell'd to draw off the whole Army; which was so discomfited, that he did not think fit to return them again to their Post." What can be more simple and sincere than this? Compare it with *Whitlocke*, p. 403. "*Ormond's* Army was 19000 Horse and Foot, Colonel *Jones's* but

5200,

5200, who soon master'd the Enemies new Work after a strong Dispute, wherein most of *Ormond's* Foot there were slain and taken, their Horse flying at the first Charge. Then *Jones* and his Party pursuing their Advantage, in-gag'd with *Ormond's* whole Army, which after two Hours they totally routed, 4000 kill'd, 2500 taken Prisoners, with Bag, Baggage, and Artillery." This the Earl of *Clarendon* calls drawing off; and upon their being so shamefully routed, slain, and dispers'd, he adds, the Lord Lieutenant did not think fit to return them again to their Post. A way of writing History so tenderly, so courtly, and so floridly, that it wants nothing but Truth to render it worthy of Imitation.

I must needs own, that his Lordship's Account of his own and the Lord *Cottington's* Embassy to *Spain*, is not very entertaining to me. When their Lordships set out, they were not much encourag'd to it by the Court of *Madrid*, and had but very poor hopes of Success. 'Twas plain enough they thrust themselves on that Court, who would have sent them back as they came, if the Parliament of *England* had manag'd them with the least Complacency. The only good Reason given by the Earl for bestowing so many Words on such a piece of History, is, that his and the Lord *Cottington's* Embassy was the only one during the King's Peregrinations; and had that Embassy too been spar'd, his Majesty would have been as Rich, and his Council as Wise, as it was with all that important Negotiation. But there were several other Embassies, according to *Whitl.* p. 414. Ambassadors with the Emperor, the Duke of *Muscovia*, the State of *Venice*, the Great *Turk*, &c.

The

Hist. Reb. p. 337. The *Spaniards* told the Lord *Cottington* and Sir *Edward Hyde*, very plainly, "I would be time enough to talk of Alliances when the King was in *England*; and the *Spanish* Envoy to the Parliament wrote home, that the King's Condition was irrecoverable and desperate, as really it was; nor was there one step taken by all the wise Council about his Majesty, with the least Prospect of Success, from the Death of the Father, to the Restoration of the Son, but what had entire Dependance on the Divisions between the Parties in *England* under the several Denominations. However, the Earl of *Clarendon* maintains the Part of an Ambassador, and gives all the King's Counsellors the Airs of Ministers of State, conducting of Nations. Prince *Rupert* having made haste from *Ireland* with a Squadron of Ships, to avoid falling into Admiral *Blake's* hands; the Kingdom of *Spain* is thrown into a Pannick, and the Ambassadors are promis'd every thing but what they came for. A Fleet of the King of *England*, under the Command of a Prince of the Blood, made a great Consternation among the People, and the Court receiv'd the News of it with Disorder. The Ambassadors found they liv'd in another Air, and receiv'd every day Visits. So it is thro' the History. If the Winter Sun shines but a Minute, these Gentlemen bask in it as in the midst of Summer; for his Lordship adds, These benign Stars were very short, a stronger Fleet set out by the Parliament of *England*, appear'd on the Coast, and Prince *Rupert* ran into the River of *Lisbon*, and the *English* Admiral sent a Letter to the Court of *Spain*, requiring, "That none of those Ships under the Command of Prince *Rupert*, which were in Rebellion against the Parliament of *England*, might be receiv'd in any of the Ports of *Spain*: That as the Commonwealth of *England* was willing to live in Amity and

"and good Intelligence with his Catholick Majesty, so they knew very well how to do themselves Right for any Injury and Discourtesy which they should sustain." This the Earl of *Clarendon* calls *Insolence*, and every body else will call a brave *English* Spirit. His Lordship does no where intimate, that himself, who was proscrib'd by the Parliament, and his Brother Ambassador, being harbour'd in that Court, warranted that sharpness of Stile, and no doubt made their Company at *Madrid* very disagreeable. After this Letter, he owns the Ambassadors could get nothing done; but the King of *Spain* sent the *English* Admiral a Ring worth 1500*l*.

The taking of *Drogheda* by Storm, and putting the *Irish* to the Sword, has given occasion to much Vehemence against the Cruelty of *Cromwell*, as if it had not been usual in all Wars to put Garrisons to the Sword that are reduced by Storming. The Lord *Clarendon* tells us, *The Enemy enter'd the Works without Resistance*, p. 341. They made a stout Resistance, *Whitl.* p. 412. And put every Man, Governor, Officer, and Soldier to the Sword; and the whole Army being enter'd the Town, they executed all manner of Cruelty, and put Man, Woman, and Child to the Sword, *Hist. Reb.* p. 341. Now *Whitl.* p. 412. One Hundred and Forty Soldiers got into a Tower, and being summon'd, would not yield, but killed and wounded some of our Men; and when they submitted, their Officers were knock'd on the head, every tenth Man of the Soldiers kill'd, and the rest were ship'd for the Barbadoes. The Earl assures us, not a Man of them was sav'd; nay, not a Woman or Child. What follows, has great Evidence of Truth in it.

The Queen did not prefer the Order and Decency of the Church of *England*, before the Sordidness of the Kirk of *Scotland*; but thought the establishing of Pres-

Hist. Reb. Presbyterianism would advance Popery, p. 344. The Earl here calls the Church of Scotland a filthy Church, and all the Reform'd Churches in Christendom, are, in his Acceptation, nasty Churches, stuttish Churches, and whatever else is meant by *sordid*; which can, in common Sense, be no more apply'd to Praying and Preaching, than to Swimming or Flying, unless by Church, which is very probable, his Lordship means the Pews and Walls, the Flooring and Ceiling; and I have of that *sordid* kind seen a Country Church in a worse pickle than ever was Kirk of Scotland. If Religion was indeed what these Gentlemen make it, White Vestments, Wax Candles, Gilt Chalices, Diamond Crosses, &c. the way to Heaven would be a little dearer, but much more easy; which, I doubt not, is the chief Motive to their Zeal for them. There cannot be more Order in Divine Service, than pious Prayers, devout Singing of Psalms, instructive Lessons on Texts of Scripture, and serious and useful Preaching. This is the Order of Presbyterian Worship, and wherein consists the Sordidness of it, remains yet to be prov'd.

If the Mind has any thing to do with Religion, which these Gentlemen do not much insist upon, and according to their Scheme is not so very necessary, their Order and Decency is nothing but Sincerity and Purity; and whatever does not tend to them, is vain and useless. I am sensible that this is writing in an unknown Language to the Admirers of his Lordship's History, but it will be very intelligible to all true Protestants.

The Ambassadors in Spain had some Business upon the King's going into Scotland; and that was, to let the King of Spain know that their Master was gone to Scotland, which was done in a Memorial containing these notorious Truths; "That
" the

" the Scots had given over all Factions and Animosities which had heretofore divided them; that they were now sensible of all those Mis-carriages, and had sent unanimously to entreat his Majesty to take them all into his Protection, who was himself without Men, without Money, without Arms, and indeed without Protection; with which his Majesty was so well satisfied, that he had laid aside the Thought of transporting himself into Ireland, Cromwell having made it absolutely necessary for him to lay such Thoughts aside; and was gone into Scotland, where the Kingdom was entirely at his Devotion." The noble Historian himself drew up this grave Memorial, and presented it to those graver Dons the Spaniards, who believ'd as much of it as they thought fit. Whitlocke gives another Account of the Unanimity of the Scots for King Charles II. p. 427. Both the Statesmen and Kirkmen are full of Jealousy touching their King; and the Kirkmen vented in publick, that the Treaty with him, was but a juggling to deceive them; and their Ministers preached against what the Commissioners had done. How unanimous they were? The Scots King being arriv'd at Dundee, the Nobility could not agree about his coming to Edinburgh, nor about his Coronation, p. 448. Here's more Unanimity! And to prove that the Kingdom was entirely at the King's Devotion, as the noble Historian told the King of Spain, read Whitlocke, p. 453. Upon a safe Conduct, some Scots Officers had Conferences with some English Officers; the Scots said they were deluded by Malignants, that the King refused to sign to his Repentance for the Blood shed by his Father and himself, and that they had Thoughts of relinquishing him. Again, p. 456. The Scots curs'd their King and Clergy for insuaring them in Misery. Again, p. 458. There was great Difference between the Kirk and the King; that the Lords sate with

with the King, and divers Commanders with the Kirk. There are a hundred other such Instances of *Unanimity* and *Entire Devotion*, which is so amply expatiated upon in the Earl's Memorial. Whereas in truth, it was only the *Hamiltonian* Faction which invited the King into *Scotland*; and the Marquiss of *Argyle* and his Party were even ready to join with the Commonwealth Interest to keep him out.

P. 348.

Vol. I.
P. 145.

We have seen what a notable Representation the Earl made in *Spain* of his Master's growing formidable by the Invitation of the *Scots*, who have on this account a Share of the Panegyrick; *They were famous for many warlike Actions*, and always bred a very warlike People, which had born good Parts in all the Wars of Europe, and had been celebrated in them. The Possession of this whole Kingdom, as before is related, was a happy Advance, as will be seen presently, and his Majesty was more esteem'd in the Court of *Spain*, especially having a numerous Army on foot in *Ireland*, so that the Ambassadors were much better look'd upon; and that was all. When the *Scots* were coming into *England* in the Bishops War, then the Endeavour was to disgrace them as much as it is now to do them Honour: *The Scots Army scarce performed one single Action against the English, but were always beaten by great Inequality of Numbers as oft as they were encounter'd.*

In *Denmark*, the Marquiss of *Montrose* found a hearty Detestation of all the Villanies which had been acted in *England*. What does the Earl mean here? *Illegal Taxes, cruel Scourgings and Mutilatings, Murders in cold Blood, Rapine and Rapes*; and whatever else is laid to the Charge of *Laurel*, *Wentworth*, *Goring*, *Greenville*, &c? Or does he mean the Days of *Fastings* and *Humiliations*, the Battles of *Marston-Moor*, *Naseby*, and whatever is laid to the Charge of the *Parliament*? It is a strong Term; but considering the excepting the Historian out of the

the general Pardon, was one of those Villanies, it could not have too much Strength.

The Alarm of Montrose's being landed with 500 Men, startled all the Parliament, Hist. Reb. p. 352. The Marquiss of *Montrose* being very soon to be beaten, Preparation is made for it by the Smallness of his Number, 500 Men. *Whitlocke* tells us, p. 434. *Hurry* landed in the *Naas* with 1400 Men, and being join'd by *Montrose*, made 3000, p. 435.

After he was condemn'd to be hang'd, his Lordship says, the Presbyterian Divines insulted over him with all Reproaches imaginable, and pronounced his Damnation; assuring him, that his being to be hang'd next Day was an easy Prologue to his Punishment in Hell. This wants some Probability, or else the Spirit of it would certainly have recommended it to the Reader. He refused to hear the Prayers of the Ministers, knowing the Form of their common Prayer was only Curses upon the Person pray'd for. *Whitlocke* says, He desir'd the Minister to pray; which the Divine refused to do, unless he would take Absolution from him, as being under Excommunication. The Earl of *Clarendon* says, he did pray with him, and that this was his Prayer, Lord, vouchsafe yet to touch the obdurate Heart of this proud incorrigible Sinner, this wicked, perjured, traitorous, and profane Person, who refuses to hearken to the Voice of the Kirk. Hist. Reb. pag. 355.

Hist. Reb.

Pag. 441.

There was one of the Followers of *Montrose*, whom they thought fit to save, one Colonel *Whitford*; who, when he was brought to die, said, he knew the Reason why he was put to death. By the next Words, we have a Conception of the Earl's Opinion of the Murder of the Parliament's Minister in *Holland*: only because he had kill'd *Dorislaus* at the Hague. Only for being an Assassin, that was all. He is made a Colonel too for that good Work; and the Council of *Scotland*, to avoid the Reproach of hang-

hanging a Murderer, preserved the Gentleman. If they had preserv'd him for the Merit of the Butchery, it ought to have been remember'd to their eternal Infamy. But *Whitlocke*, p. 444. assures us, *he was executed*.

Hist. Reb.
P. 357.

The Marquiss of *Argyle* wanted nothing but Honesty and Courage to have been a very extraordinary Man. Such things speak themselves. As does what follows: "The Close-Committee at *Westminster* sent secret Instructions to *Monk* to treat with "*Owen O Neile*." Which carries also its own Evidence with it. 'Tis very likely a Committee of Parliament should instruct him to do what the Parliament voted against in such strong Terms: *That they did disapprove of what Major-General Monk had done, in concluding a Peace with the Grand and Bloody Irish Rebel, Owen Roe O Neile, and did abhor the having any thing to do with him therein, Whitl. p. 403.* He adds, "All *Monk's* Excuses "would not serve, but it stuck with many to his Prejudice, who both suspected *Monk's* Fidelity, "and sharply inveigh'd against any Peace with "the bloody and execrable *Irish* Rebels." Indeed, it behov'd the Parliament to clear themselves of the Guilt of such a base Compliance with that detestable Race; otherwise it would have justify'd the Marquiss of *Ormond's* entering into Amity and League with them, which the Parliament very justly declar'd they *abhor'd*.

The Account of *Cromwell's* courting that Lord to be friends with him, and his being afraid of him and vast Bodies of *Irish*, after he had made his Name terrible to that cruel People by many Routs, is as probable as other Passages.

It is well known, that Compositions for Delinquents were generally three or four Years Purchase; and it is as well known, that the desperate Condition of the Cavaliers put them upon frequent At-

Attempts to disturb the publick Peace; which is thus fairly represented. *Many were forced to sell half their Estates to compound for the rest, which Remainder was still liable to whatever Impositions they at any time thought fit to inflict upon them.* In plain *English*, they were liable to pay Taxes; as their Persons were to Imprisonment, when any unreasonable and groundless Report was raised of some Plot. We are furnish'd with Plots enough when the Historian was Prime Minister after the Restoration. Mr. *Locke* calls them *Sham-Plots*; but the Plotters were not punished with Imprisonment, they were hang'd out of the way, and no Man more busy in that Work than the Earl of *Clarendon*.



U

CHAP.



C H A P. VI.

Remarks on the History of the RE-
BELLION. Vol. III. Part II.

Pag. 367.



ING Charles II. being arrived in Scotland, the first Complaint the Earl of Clarendon makes aginst his Reception there, is, their long Prayers, their obliging him to keep the Lord's Day, &c. But all that was excused on account of the Dominion and Riches his Majesty acquir'd by being possess'd of a Kingdom without a Rival. Upon which, the States gave all Countenance to the Scottish Merchants in Holland: France look'd chearfully upon it; and the Ambassadors in Spain were raised from Contempt to Dignity. When, unluckily, there arrived a Minister from the Parliament of England, one Ascham, a Scholar; or, rather School-boy, in his Lordship's Acceptation; for he says presently, he did not understand Language. It is apparent, that the two Ambassadors, the Lord Cottington and Sir Edward Hyde had thrust themselves on the Court of Spain, who had a very mean Opinion of their Negotiations, and would have been rid of them, if they could handsomely have done it. They knew full well, that those Ambassadors had but very little Money in their Pockets, and were more likely to be a Charge to them, than any Benefit. They were suffer'd to remain there out of Decency only; and Mr. Ascham coming with Credentials from

from the most formidable Power in Europe, and with Credit for any Sums to support him, the two Ambassadors must have made an indifferent Figure after Ascham's Appearance there in Figure and Plenty. The Ambassador Hyde was very well appriz'd of this, and therefore he treats Mr. Ascham in his History just as he would have had the Spaniards treat him, like a Porter sent on an Errand; but the Dons were too wise to affront a Power that could hurt them, to gratify a Prince that could not. And because the Parliament were a beggarly, niggardly People, Mr. Ascham's Arrival is represented like that of a Scots Pedlar, with no more Baggage than his Pack. "He was unacquainted with Business, attended by a Renegado Franciscan Fryar, who had been bred in Spain, and another to serve in the Condition of Secretary." *Whose Place, by the way, would have been ten times better than the Secretary to the Lords Ambassadors, they having nothing to do.* "And an inferior Fellow for any Service;" whom Mr. Whitlocke calls a Steward, for which Mr. Ascham had, doubtless, as much Occasion as their Excellencies, he having wherewithal to keep a good House, which their Lordships were not so well provided for. One cannot make a rational Judgment of the Earl's Simplicity and Sincerity in this Narration, without giving some Account of this Mr. Ascham. He was by Extraction a Gentleman, *A. Wood*, educated at Eaton School, and thence elected into Vol. II. King's College in Cambridge, where he took the Degree of Master of Arts. But, says the Earl, he did not understand Language; tho' it is very probable his Intelligence would admit of no Comparison with his Lordship's, who took no other Degree than that of Batchelor of Arts. But the Historian has his Rival Ascham at his mercy, and he uses him like a Rival. Mr. Ascham became after-

afterwards Tutor to the Duke of York; and the Parliament being a parcel of Blockheads, pick'd him out for the Embassy in Spain, without inquiring into his Capacity. *The Spaniards were not pleas'd with his coming among them; and Don Lewis de Haro told the Ambassador Hyde, He was only an English Gentleman who had brought a Letter from the Parliament to the King, and the King could not refuse to receive the Letter and to see the Man.* Not a word of Agent or Resident. But a few Lines after, *Some Gentlemen consulted how to kill this Fellow; who, if he had liv'd to have had Audience, would hardly have allow'd the two Ambassadors to have been his Fellows.* This Air in an inferior Writer would have been Arrogance to a Degree of Impudence; but in the Noble Historian, is only a laudable Conception of his own Superiority and Merit. *The Gentlemen, as the Earl calls them, were six nameless mercenary Ruffians; John Gwillim, William Sparke, Valentine Progers, Jo. Halsal, William Arnet, and Henry Progers: the latter of so near a Relation to the Ambassador Hyde, that he was his Domestick-Servant; but meeting the Assassins by accident, as they were going to cut the Throat of the English Resident, he join'd in with them in that diabolical Enterprize; for which the Earl seems not to have had the worse Opinion of him, or he would not have told us, that Don Lewis envy'd the Honour of these Gentlemen, who had murder'd a Gentleman in cold Blood and his Interpreter, who, being a Spaniard, was no Object of their Revenge. They thought it, says his Lordship, a very gallant and justifiable Service; and five of them took Sanctuary in a little Chappel: Henry Progers, the Historian's Servant, taking shelter in the House of the Venetian Ambassador.* *Whitlocke* tells us, "The Assassins fled for Refuge to the Venetian Ambassa-

P. 444.

3

"dor's

"dor's House, but he deny'd them entrance." The Lord Cottington and Sir Edward Hyde expostulating with Don Lewis about the Reception of Mr. *Ascham*, had said, *The King their Master had too many Subjects in that Place for such a Fellow to appear there with any Security; which occasion'd many Speculations after the Resident was murder'd, as we read, Hist. Reb. p. 371. It cannot be imagined, says the Earl, with what Compassion all the Ambassadors at Madrid look'd upon these unhappy Gentlemen. Footmen and Foot-Soldiers make the best of them. But they are enter'd into his Lordship's Heraldry as so many English Gentry, purely on account of their murdering Mr. Ascham: An Action of so much Horror and Infamy, that the like has not a good Word in any History of Banditti, Buccaneers, Pyrates, &c. Fine Gentlemen compar'd to these bloody Assassins! Only one of them was hang'd for this horrid Murder; and he too probably had escap'd the Gallows, had he not been a Protestant.*

Fairfax's Friends would have had it believ'd P. 514. that he would not fight against the King, *Hist. Reb.* Which Belief they grounded upon his Behaviour at the Battle of *Naseby*; whereas in truth, it was never pretended that he would not fight against the Son, as he had fought against the Father. The Reason he gave to the Committee of Parliament, who conferr'd with him upon it, was, *We are joined in the National League and Covenant with the Scots, and now for us, contrary thereto, to enter into their Country with an Army, is that which I cannot see the Justice of; Whitl. p. 445.*

We have observed frequently, that the Gravity of the History is often relieved by some Strokes of Raillery, the Subject of which is generally that which admits it the least, Religion: *The Scots Ministers found their Soldiers too much inclin'd to put*

U 3

their

their Confidence in the Arm of Flesh, whereas their Hope and Dependence was to be only in God; and they were most assured of Victory by Prayers and Piety. These Gentlemen are perfectly insensible of such Sentiments, and are therefore as merry with them, as with Hudibras or Ralpho. Again, speaking of the Battel at Dunbar, "The Foot depended much upon their Ministers, who preach'd and pray'd, and assur'd them of Victory; some of them were knock'd in the Head while they were promising it."

P. 377.

'Tis pleasant enough to observe, that whatever happens in the King's Affairs, is always for the better; and now his Army is entirely routed, *the King was glad of it, as the greatest Happiness that could befall him; for if the Scots had prevail'd, they would have imprison'd him the next day. But his Army being defeated, they look'd upon him as one they might stand in need of. This is excellent Reasoning, and the Politicks are also very full of Instruction. The King did, in a Degree, enjoy the Fruit of the Victory; but his Lordship owns, it was discerned by a few Men only, because the Destruction of the only Army he had, and Cromwell's possessing of Edinborough, was look'd upon as a Conquest, by such as foolishly imagined that Victory did really give People an Advantage in War.*

The Spaniards were some of those Fools; and tho' the Ambassador Hyde, in several Audiences, used all Means to inform the King and Don Lewis, that the King's Condition was improved by the Defeat; yet, which is very strange, he was not believ'd: but an old Secretary sent to him, to desire him and his Brother Ambassador to be gone. However, the Reason of it was not a Belief, that the King's Condition was made worse, and the Commonwealth's better, by the Overthrow of his Army at Dunbar; but the Shame the Spaniards had

had of the Purchase they had made of so many of King Charles the First's Pictures and Household-Stuff, as loaded eighteen Mules, and they were asham'd to bring them to Town as long as the Ambassadors were there; so they sent again to them to depart. If that had been all, they might have invited their Excellencies to the *Escorial*, and have kept them there while the eighteen Mules were entering, if they had no way for them to enter but under the Noses of the two Ambassadors. Sir Edward Hyde, in his Return through France, found that Court in as great a Mistake as the Court of Spain, imagining that Oliver's beating the Scots at Dunbar had given the Commonwealth some Advantage; tho' really, says his Lordship, *Hist. Reb.* the King's Condition was the better for it. If *p. 382.* such History as this cannot please, I know not what can.

The Duke of York, afterwards King James II. *Pag. 386.* was full of Spirit and Courage, and naturally lov'd Designs, and desir'd to engage himself in some Action. Another Observation is made, which has at least as good a Foundation; and that was the Opinion the French had of the Impotence of the King's Party in England. *They thought the Church of Eng-* *Pag. 392.* *land could never do the King service, and all his Hopes must be in the Presbyterians and Papists.* The latter are added, to make the Service of the Presbyterians the more odious. The King and Cromwell were equally delighted with the Defeat of the Scots Army, *p. 393.* And soon after left the Marquis of Argyle, and withdrew into the Highlands, not letting the Duke of Buckingham know any thing of it, *p. 394.* Whitlocke says, *The King slip'd away with the Duke of Bucks.* The Earl tells us, *The* *P. 395.* *King caus'd many infamous Acts of Parliament to be repealed; and that when Cromwell heard of the King's March into England, it was not a small sur-* *Pag. 397.* *prize*

prize to him, nor was it easy for him to resolve what to do. By the Letter he wrote to the Parliament, it appears it was no great surprize to him, and that he knew well what to do. Whitl. p. 474. *The Enemy in Desperation and Fear, and out of inevitable Necessity, are run to try what they can do in England.* He then gives Reasons why he let them run away from him not doubting but the *Desperateness and Folly of their Enterprize will appear.* The Lord Clarendon makes that to be the Effect of Counsel and Wisdom, which Cromwell imputes to Despair, Fear, Folly, and Necessity.

What can be more entertaining than this History of Oliver? "There were two Reasons which troubled him exceedingly; the one, the terrible Consecration the Parliament would be in when they heard the King with his Army was nearer to them than Cromwell was; the other was, If the King had time to rest in any Place, he apprehended he would infinitely encrease."

In the lamentable Business of the Scots second Invasion, we shall meet with some more Simplicity and Sincerity to the Honour of the King's Arms, as long as he had any left; p. 400. "Lambert was pursu'd by the King's Horse, and made more haste than a well-order'd Retreat requires." Whitl. p. 476. *I commanded the Rear Guard, says Lambert, and charg'd and routed the Enemy, pursuing them at least a Mile.* Lord Clarendon again, *It was not thought fit to pursue Lambert,* p. 401. *Whitlocke, p. 476. They engaged us again, and we charg'd them with the same Success.*

I believe there are hardly any two Histories of the same Facts, related by different Historians, which agree in all Circumstances, especially when the Subject concerns different Nations, and more especially different Parties; but tho' they may differ in some Circumstances for the Glory or Dis-

Disgrace of the Nation or Party they are for or against; yet there is no History in any Language, antient or modern, which disagrees so much with other Histories, as that of the *Rebellion.* Other Historians may vary from the Truth, in Relations of the same Facts, but then it will be in Trifles only; and they are never so different from another, as to be quite contrary to the Fact, which is the single Case of the History of the *Rebellion*: and to affect such an unwarrantable Difference, with so little Reason, or colour of Reason, must have been occasion'd by a great Contempt both of the Understanding and Honesty of the Reader.

"Worcester was so little out of the King's way to London, that the going thither would not much retard the March. If, what follows renders that IF of the last Necessity, *If they found the Army able to continue it.* The Militia of London might as well have march'd to Paris after they were landed in France. *There was an Imagination that they might have continued their March even to London,* which would have produced wonderful Effects; but that Imagination was too wild to last, and they quickly found it to be impossible. What wonderful Effects it would have produced, may be imagin'd by the Effects of the March to Worcester, which were not at all wonderful. Cromwell had the Scots Army in a Coop there, and did not give them liberty to range far, as Fleetwood writes; and how welcome they would have been at London, Whitlocke tell us, p. 478. *A Letter from the King, to the City of London, was burnt by the Hangman.*

Upon the King's approach to Worcester, the Committee, and all those who were employ'd by the Parliament, fled in all the Confusion imaginable. Not all of them, for one of the Committee Men staid long enough

enough to be knighted by the King, *Whitl. p. 478. The Principal Persons of the Country, with the Mayor and Aldermen, proclaim'd the King; Hist. Reb. The King sent a Summons to all to come in to him to Worcester, but none came, Whitl. p. ibid. Letters from London had given his Majesty cause to believe that many prepared to come to him, Hist. Reb. p. 406. Whitl. p. 478. After the King's Letter to the City was burnt by the Hangman, the Proclamation, declaring all those that came in to him to be Traytors and Rebels, was publish'd by beat of Drum, and sound of Trumpet. "When the News came of the Defeat of the Earl of Derby, it exceedingly afflicted his Majesty, and abated much the Hope he had of a general Rising; Hist. Reb. ib." The King seeing his Hopes in the Earl of Derby frustrated, would have marched away with his Horse, upon which his Foot was ready to mutiny, and said, they should both fare alike. There was not much Cruelty used to the Prisoners, Hist. Reb. p. 410. And in the next Page, "The Prisoners were treated with great Rigour, and many perish'd for want of Food."*

The King's Army was no sooner defeated at Worcester, but the Parliament renew'd their old method of murdering in cold Blood. Thus, after the Restoration, the Duke of Monmouth was murder'd in cold Blood; it might with greater Reason be said so, than that the Earl of Derby was so murder'd. The Earl had a fair Tryal for levying War against the Powers in Being; the Duke levy'd War against those Powers, and was condemn'd without a Tryal. Thus the Lord Russell, Colonel Sydney, Sir Thomas Armstrong, Alderman Cornish, &c. were all murder'd in cold Blood, in the same King's Reign, when the Power was in Him. Is it not astonishing to hear a Lawyer talk after that rate! Did not the Earl of Derby know that the

the Laws under the Parliament made Rebellion as Treasonable as the Laws under the King? Did he not know, that the committing such a Crime would be punish'd with Death if he was taken, which is the Earl's Murder in cold Blood? By the same Logick, the Marquiss of Argyle, Sir Henry Vane, &c. were so murder'd, as soon as the Divisions between the Parliament and the Army had given the Presbyterians an opportunity to bring in the King; for nothing but those Divisions, and no body but those Men, did bring, or could have brought him in. Again, *Hist. Reb.* "They easily found him guilty, and put him to death in a Town of his own. What cou'd be more easy than to find a Man guilty who was in the Head of an Insurrection, of which there must be so many hundred Witnesses; besides his Cloak with Stars, his George and Garter, his Bag and Baggage taken in the Field of Battle? *Whitlocke* tells us the Truth: The Earl confess'd the Plot for a general Rising, and the Matters of Treason charged against him. He pleaded Ignorance of the Acts of Treason set forth by the Parliament; but the Court sentenced him to be beheaded at Bolton, where he had murder'd a Man in cold Blood. I detest the applying Judgments to Things which have natural Causes, only in Resentment of Party Quarrels; but this should methinks have been mention'd, to preserve the Character of Impartiality and Integrity: as should what follows, *The Earl seem'd very desirous of Life, and petition'd the Lord General.* Pag. 436.

The Lord Clarendon assures us, there was but one Papist a General-Officer in the King's Army; and now he mentions in one Page the Lord Witherington and Major-General Sir Thomas Tildesley, who were both kill'd in the Earl of Derby's Rout. Further, the Names of the other Persons of Quality who were kill'd in that Encounter, and those who were taken

taken Prisoners, and afterwards put to Death, ought to be discover'd and mention'd honourably. And truly, if I knew where to find the Names of them, I would bring them forth, to do them as much Honour as their Actions deserv'd. I have met with some of them, Sir Thomas Fetherston, another Papist, who, says *Whitlocke*, was beheaded for the same Treasons; Sir Nicholas Fortescue, another Papist, and a Knight of *Maltha*; Colonel *Trollop*, another Papist; and another, Captain *Pattison*. Captain *Benbow* was shot to death for the same Treasons, says *Whitlocke*, p. 486. Sir Francis Gamul, Col. Boynton, Sir William Throgmorton, Colonel Legg, and Colonel Gerrard were taken Prisoners. I have search'd very narrowly after these Worthies, being so honourably spoken of, and recommended to Posterity by the Historian. I do not reflect on the whole Body of Papists, when I speak of these; nor think their Religion a sufficient Warrant to expose them to Reproach, if their Moral Actions and Principles are good and laudable. The *Laudeans* are doubtless greater Enemies to the true Protestant Religion and *English* Liberties. Mr. *Locke* had made this Observation before; and I have also myself mention'd it elsewhere.

"There was a Chappel in that Village, where a Weaver, who had been a Soldier, used to preach, and utter all the Villany imaginable." I hope the Reader understands what is here meant by Villany; it is preaching Purity and Godliness, in opposition to Superstition and Persecution; which the Earl calls the *old Order of Government*. One would have thought, the Preacher's having been a Soldier, did not disqualify him for the Pulpit. Dr. *Hudson*, and many other Orthodox Divines threw aside their Crape, and put on Buff. And, if I were disposed to make Reprisals, I could name a Weaver too, who, in my time, left the

the Loom for the Pulpit, after Episcopal Ordination. Such Meannesses are unworthy a History, which has hardly any thing in it but Flowers and Graces, except where the Soil is rank, and then Weeds thrive there as well as in other Places. The Earl takes particular Care to tell us, that the *Hydes* were always a *Malignant Family*; and it was to the Malignants that were owing all the Miseries and Ruins of the Civil War, as we read at large in *Rushworth*, *Whitlocke*, and other faithful Historians.

It is allow'd by all Writers, that King *Charles II.* had renounced the Church of *England*, and submitted to that of *Rome*, before his Restoration; that he liv'd after it in a constant Mocking of God, by professing himself a Defender of the Protestant Faith, and being at the same time an errant Papist. What we read in a History of great Bulk, that Sir *Richard Willis* and Colonel *Doleman* said, *If you call home the King, you will put the Government under Pimps and Whores*; and of Sir *William Morrice*, Secretary of State's saying, *Willis and Doleman were the truest Prophets he ever met with in his Life*; is not the less irreverent, because 'tis recorded by an Archdeacon, p. 757. But considering the very great Wickedness, which, like an Inundation, overwhelmed the Kingdom in the Reign of that Prince; how could the Earl of *Clarendon* speak of his being sav'd, after the Rout at *Worcester*, in this Manner? *All may reasonably look upon the whole as Hist. Reb. the Inspiration and Conduct of God Almighty, as a Manifestation of his Power and Glory, and for the Conviction of the whole Party which had sinn'd so grievously.* If this is not Cant, I know not what Cant is. *Hugh Peters*, *Philip Nye*, and *Stephen Marshall* could not out-cant it, if they had said, That *Cromwell's* Series of Victories and Success should not be attributed to the Arm of Flesh, but to the

Inspiration and Conduct of God Almighty, as a Manifestation of his Power and Glory, and for the Conviction of the whole Party which had sinn'd so grievously. It looks natural in them; but in the Earl, whose Party had countenanced Sinning so far, as to establish Sabbath-breaking by a Law, and persecuted pious Ministers and others for not obeying it, seems to me very unnatural and surprizing.

"In the mean time, the Marquiss of Ormond would not receive a Pass from Ireton, who would willingly have granted it; being afraid of the Man whom he was driving out of the Kingdom, and who was so sturdy, that he scorn'd to travel safe by the Pass of a Common-wealth's-man. These Gentlemen are like the Heroes of Romances, they live without Meat, they fight without Arms, they conquer without Victory, and are wise without Wisdom. *Mazarine* said of King Charles the Second's Counsellors, *It is the Fate of this Prince, that he neither knows how to chuse for himself, nor has any one near him that is able to advise him.* The Lord Clarendon and the Marquiss of Ormond were at that time near him; and either Cardinal *Mazarine* or the Earl of Clarendon must be out in their Politicks. Which of them the Reader will prefer for Knowledge and Experience, is easy to be imagined.

"One Love, a Presbyterian Minister, (a Fellow "mention'd before,") *Hist. Reb. p. 434.* There is not the like of this in History; a Divine of the Reformed Religion, about to pay the Price of his Folly by his Death for the same Cause which the Earl is engaged in, is termed a Fellow. So Mr. *Ascham* was a Fellow. And this Fellow, Mr. Love, the Minister, was condemn'd and executed for a Conspiracy to restore the King, which, one would have thought, deserv'd a milder Term in so mannerly a History as that of the *Rebellion*. But they have

have no Manners to spare for any of the Clergy, who are not of the Stamp of those that first brought on the *Bishops War*, and afterwards the *Civil War*, by their preaching up Persecution, Superstition, and Tyranny. Again, this poor *Man Love*. What a Spirit there is in them? they can be Insolent, when, as the Earl owns, *They lay* *groveling and prostrate under desolate Apprehensions.* *Ibid.*

This poor *Man, Love*, dy'd raving. *Dr. Calamy* assures us; *He died neither timorously nor proudly, but with great Alacrity and Chearfulness, as if he had but gone to bed, and had been as little concern'd as the Standers-by; which agrees mighty well with his Lordship's raving Fit.* *Pag. 435.*

"When *Middleton* came to *Paris*, he brought "with him a little *Scottish Vicar.*" If he had been a fat *English Vicar*, he would have been treated with more Ceremony. The Pleasantry is in his Lordship's descending so much into the Particulars of this Person, who however was considerable enough to have Letters of Credit from the Heads of the Royal Party, in Prison and out of Prison, to be consulted with on the *Scottish Affairs*, which were left to the Management of Chancellor *Hyde* and the little *Scottish Vicar*, who had long Conferences together; and to what good Purpose, appears by the Success of their Counsels. Indeed, one might fill a Volume with glorious Instances of the Wisdom of his Majesty's Counsellors, notwithstanding what *Mazarine* maliciously said of them; as this one. His Majesty was advis'd to send the *Dutch Ambassador in France* a Paper sign'd by him, intimating, that there were many Officers and Seamen aboard the *English Fleet*, who ship'd themselves purely with an Intention to serve the King aboard the Fleet of the Common-wealth; and if the *Dutch* would receive him aboard their Fleet, he desir'd no other Command than

of those Ships, which, upon Notice of his being there, should leave General *Blake*, and join with him. Is not this the Quintessence of Wisdom? And how silly was *De Wit's* Answer! "If they should accept of the King's generous Offer, they could never recede from his Interest; which, instead of putting an end to the War, of which they were already weary, would make it without end, &c." The truth is, these Gentlemen did not care what Inconveniencies they brought any Kingdom or State, Party or Persons into, if they could get a present Relief in their Distress.

"Cromwell's Deputy, Ireton, died in Limerick of the Plague." This Story begins well, at least; for he did not die of the Plague. *Whitl. p. 491.* "The Lord Deputy Ireton having taken Cold in his Journey, fell sick, and November 17, took Phylick; the next day he was let blood, but grew worse and worse every day, till November 26, and then died." Now follows General Ireton's Character, *Hist. Reb. p. 468.* "He was never reserv'd in owning his most barbarous Purposes, and his personal Courage was never reckon'd among his other Abilities." Which is the Reverse of all other Accounts of him. *Whitl. p. 491.* He was Stout in the Field, and of good Abilities for Action as well as Counsel. *Ludlow, p. 384.* "He was solemnly interr'd in a magnificent Monument at the publick Charge; who, if he could have foreseen what was done by them, would certainly have made it his Desire, that his Body might have found a Grave where his Soul left it. So much did he despise those pompous and expensive Vanities, having erected for himself a more glorious Monument in the Hearts of all good Men, &c." What are those Men, who

who have loaded his Memory with Injustice, Cruelty, Rapine, and Blood!

The Affairs of Ireland, under the Duke of Ormond's Popish Deputy, the Marquis of *Clanricard*, take up several Pages of his Lordship's History, tho' the Events do not appear to be worth Remembrance; yet they are not only recorded in the Earl's Memoirs, but he recommends a fuller Relation of them written by the Marquis himself, which cannot but be very Entertaining to such as have much waste Time, and much Curiosity to know what People did not and could not do, as well as what they could and did.

The Dissolution of the Parliament by Cromwell, was generally very grateful and acceptable, they being fallen into Contempt. Now *Whitlocke, p. 529.* This Assembly, famous thro' the World for its Undertakings, Actions, and Successes, having subdued all their Enemies, were ruined by their Servants. All which is sober History, and the Reflections of a wise Man. One would think that General *Ludlow* had seen the Earl's History, or the Earl General *Ludlow's*; for they make use of the same Expression on this Event. Cromwell having now past the Rubicon: which was a very just Term for a Man's invading the Liberties of his Country, and destroying the Senate that employ'd him.

"Barebone's Parliament consisted of inferior Persons, of no Quality or Name, Artificers of the meanest Trades, known only by their Gifts in praying and preaching, which was now practised by all Degrees of Men but Scholars." Tho' the Wit of this is exquisite, yet it has not so strong an Effect as might be expected, because 'tis rather Satire than History, and rather Fable than Truth. There were no Men of Learning who preach'd at that time. Both the Universities were full of Preachers, but there were no Scholars.

lars among them. We have named some on other Occasions, and could fill many Pages with Names of Eminence, were it necessary, to discredit a Reflection which so far discredits itself, as to require no Remark. There is more Wit still in this Paragraph; *Praise God*, that was his Christian Name, *Barebone*, a Leather-seller, being a notable Speaker in this Parliament, the Assembly went by his Name, which occasions the Raillery; tho' it would have been as applicable to *Accepted Frewen*, Archbishop of York, or *Offspring Blackball*, Bishop of Exeter.

Hist. Reb.
p. 483.

"One *Rouse*, an old Gentleman of Devonshire, was chosen Speaker, with an Opinion of having some Knowledge in Latin and Greek, but of a very mean Understanding." It is all of a piece, one *Rouse*. How would it be taken, if one should say, one *Turner*, one *Seymour*, one *Trevor*, one *Harley*, one *Bromley* was chosen Speaker. *A Wood* says, this Man of a very mean Understanding, was esteemed a Man of Parts, and his Writings shew that his Understanding was of as large Extent as his Education at Oxford and the Inns of Court, besides the Experience of thirty Years in the House of Commons, could help him to.

They continued six Months to the Amazement, and even Mirth of the People; and never enter'd into any grave and serious Debate. As appears by their Committees:

1. To consider Matters touching Law.
2. Touching Prisoners and Prisons.
3. For Inspecting into Treasuries, and easing publick Charges.
4. For Ireland.
5. For Scotland.
6. For the Army.
7. For Petitions.

8. To

8. To consider what shall be offered about publick Debts, publick Fraud, and Breaches of Trust.

9. For regulating Commissioners of the Peace.

10. For Advance of Trade.

11. For Advancement of Learning.

I beg the Reader to take Notice of the last Article, because we have so fair an Account of it in the Earl's History: They generally expressed great Sharpness and Animosity against all Learning: They look'd upon the Function of Ministers to be Antichristian, and proposed to sell the College Lands. The Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Common-Council of London, presented a Petition to them, That the Gospel may be preserved in Purity, and the Dispensers of it be learned, godly, &c. That their Maintenance by Law, and their just Properties be preserved. That the Universities be countenanced and encouraged. And the Petitioners had Thanks for their good Affections. *Whitlocke*, They did, 'tis true, Order the Sale of some of the King's Houses, and the Remainder of Dean and Chapters Lands. They pass'd an Act to register Marriages, Births, and Burials. An Act for the Relief of Creditors. An Act for the Adventurers in Ireland. For the Probats of Wills in all Counties. An Act touching Idiots and Lunatics. To call all Persons to account for publick Debts. An Act for Advance of Money, and Indemnity. An Act for a new Council of State, &c. And they voted, that the Incumbents, Impropiators, &c. have a Right and Propriety in Tythes. Contrary to all which, says the Earl, They never enter'd into any grave and serious Debate, but look'd upon the payment of Tythes to be absolute Judaism, and they thought fit, that they should be abolished altogether; which is proved by the before-mentioned Vote. His Lordship represents this Assembly as a Parcel of ignorant, illiterate Mechanicks. Whereas it is no Disparagement to the Earl to affirm, that many

P. 463.

of them were superior to himself in Quality and Fortune, in Genius, and any thing, except writing of History; which, if either of them had attempted, I believe they would not have been to learn the way of writing Truth of his Lordship. There are inferior Men in all great Assemblies; There were *Carpenters, Timber-men, Rope-makers, Apothecaries, Brewers*, and the like, in the *Orthodox Long-Parliament* after the Restoration, to whom the Earl made so many fine Speeches before they impeach'd and banish'd him. I am not so much in love with this Convention, as to be blind to their Faults, of which the greatest was their being *Cromwell's Tools*; but that does not justify the misrepresenting them, as is done in his Lordship's History. Many of them, says *Ludlow*, manifested a good Affection to the publick Cause. They were for the most part compos'd of honest and well-meaning Men, and they proceeded to the making of Laws relating to the Publick, without one grave or serious Debate. It would have been impossible to err thus, without a form'd, resolute Design so to do before the History was begun; for Chance would otherwise have sometimes led the Pen into the right way.

The noble Historian cannot conceive what Grounds the Parliament, and afterwards *Cromwell* went upon, when they put the Laws in Execution against the Enemies to their Government. The grand Law of Nature, *Self-Preservation*, loses all its Force in his Lordship's Argument. The Parliament and *Oliver* should have suffer'd all Conspirators against their Authority and Life to have pass'd with Impunity, if not Reward; and as they are now Knaves in the Earl's Phrase, they would then have been only Fools. *Whitlocke* says, p. 575. "Mr. *Gerrard* and Mr. *Vowel* were charged with a Conspiracy to murder the Lord Protector, to seize the Guards, the City and
"Tower,

"Tower, with other Treasons." *Vowel* was a little Schoolmaster at *Islington*, but instead of calling him Fellow, as Mr. *Ascham* and Mr. *Love* were call'd, it is the Magnanimous *Vowel*, a Term too good for *Dionysius* the Tyrant, after he was reduced to the base Condition of a Pædagogogue. *Cromwell* was rigid enough in his Military Executions, but in Civil, he was as well natur'd as most Chief Magistrates are; yet the Earl of *Clarendon* imposes him upon us as a bloody-minded Cannibal, who delighted in Cruelty and Slaughter. Every one commended him for his Exemplary Justice, in causing the *Portugal* Ambassador's Brother to be try'd and executed, for a barbarous Murder committed by him and his Followers in the *New-Exchange*. The Historian assures us his Followers were executed as well as himself. The rest of them were executed at *Tyburn*, *Hist. Reb.* p. 494. Directly contrary to this is *Whitlocke*, p. 477. The rest condemn'd for the Murder were all repriev'd. They must be in extream want of Proofs to fix Barbarity on *Cromwell's* Character, or the Fact would not be falsify'd in such ordinary Cases.

Cromwell had very little Apprehensions of the King's Party, which is the Truth. *Oliver* did indeed very little apprehend them, and it would never have been in their Power to do him any Hurt, or their Master any Good, if the Divisions among their Adversaries had not made a Breach for them to enter at.

When the Earl comes to speak of Lieutenant-Colonel *John Lilburn*, he tells us he was a poor Book-binder, and sinks his being the Son of a Gentleman of as antient a Family as most in the North of England. Besides, he never was a Book-binder, *A. Wat.* but was an Apprentice to a Packer in London, Vol. II. and not liking a Trade, he study'd the Law. IP. 171.

wonder it is not this Fellow *Lilburn*, and this Fellow *Wildman*; He, who was afterwards a Member of Parliament, Post-Master General of England, and Alderman of London. But they are both *inconsiderable Persons*, *Hist. Reb. p. 503.*

As soon as the Treaty between *Oliver* and the French King was likely to ease the Court of France of King *Charles* and his Followers, the Earl says, *there could be no Doubt but the King was heartily weary of being there.* He would have staid no longer in France, if *Cromwell* had not oblig'd that Court not to suffer his Abode in that Kingdom. It may be so, yet if his Majesty had remov'd before he was forc'd to it, his Removal would have been with a better Grace, and the Noble Historian's Sentiments upon it have been better grounded. His Majesty making the Attorney-General *Herbert* Lord-Keeper of the Great Seal of England about that Time, and refusing to make Mr. *Long* Secretary of State, with the Disputes about Titles and Places, are the more remarkable, because all those Places were as far off from them, as if they had been in the Moon; those that had Possession of them in England, being no more likely, than they were willing, to part with them.

The King grew very impatient to leave France, *Hist. Reb. p. 520.* Which Impatience probably grew upon his Majesty in proportion to *Oliver's* Instances for his Removal. What an odd sort of an Answer was that of the Pope, to those that solicited him to supply King *Charles* in his Exile? *He could not do it with a good Conscience, it being to apply the Patrimony of the Church to support Hereticks.*

"The Rest and Quiet that the King propos'd to Himself, was disturb'd by the activity of his Friends in England, who, notwithstanding all his Majesty's Commands and Injunctions not to

" enter

" enter upon any sudden and rash Insurrections, " were so prick'd and stung by the Insolence of " their Enemies, that they could not bear it." As all those Insurrections ended in the Ruin of the active Men just mention'd, it was not consistent with the consummate Wisdom of his Majesty's Counsellors to charge themselves with their Rashness and Folly; and if their Friends are hang'd for it, they can blame no body but themselves.

Sir *Joseph Wagstaff* was one of the first that appear'd in Arms with a Body of Horse, and with great Bravery he discomfited the Judges and Sheriffs at *Salisbury* Assizes, and with still greater Bravery would have hang'd them, if some of his Party had not had more Wit as well as more Mercy. His Lordship's Opinion falls in with *Wagstaff's*, *As if Works of this nature could be done by Halves.* Again, It would have been a *reasonable Act of Severity.* And truly when the Earl of *Clarendon* govern'd under King *Charles* after the Restoration, those Acts of Severity were hardly ever out of Season, under pretence of old or new Treasons. *Wagstaff*, and his Companions, found they had nothing to do but to scamper for their Lives; and it would have been extremely prudent as well as merciful in them, to have hang'd up the Judges and Sheriffs, when they were themselves every minute in fear of the Gallows. *It was a bold Enterprize*, says his Lordship, and *might have produced wonderful Effects if it had been prosecuted with the same Resolution*; that is, if they could have taken all the Judges and Sheriffs in England, they might have hang'd them up before they were hang'd themselves. What can one say of such Argument, IF it had been prosecuted with the same Rashness, so it was till the Party was routed, and their Leaders taken and punish'd. The Reasons that are given for this rash Attempt are, " A

Pag. 558. "Supposition of the Division in the Army, which was known to be so great, that it was thought Cromwell durst not draw the whole Army to a general Rendezvous; and it was concluded, IF there were in any one Place such a Body brought together, as might oblige Cromwell to make the Army, or a considerable part of it, to march, there would, at least, be no Disposition in them to fight. And it was believ'd, IF they had remain'd with that Party at Salisbury for some Days, which they might well have done without any Disturbance, their Numbers would have been increas'd." I am wonderfully edify'd with these excellent Speculations, and take it for granted, that Cromwell's Soldiers would not fight, and that Wagstaff might have staid longer at Salisbury if he would. Which would have sav'd Croke the trouble of following him 60 or 70 Miles farther Westward. Cromwell himself was alarm'd when he saw such a Body got together; 4 or 500 Wiltshire Horse, half arm'd and half cloath'd, himself having only 30000 Horse and Foot, Veteran Troops, and the most formidable Army in Christendom. But all this Apprehension vanish'd, says his Lordship, when it was known, that having stay'd three or four Hours at Salisbury, they rode out of it faster than they came in. It has been already observ'd, that these Gentlemen did not know how Matters went in London, and that their Friends in England always impos'd upon them with false Accounts of the Number and Strength of their Party, as the Enemies to the Revolution, deceiv'd the Court of France, representing them as the 9 in 10 at least. Thus were many poor Wretches drawn in to sacrifice their Lives in the most precipitate and hopeless Attempts.

One single Troop of Horse, inferior in Number, and commanded by an Officer of no Credit, being in those Parts by chance, follow'd them at a distance, till they were so spent, that he rather intreated them, than compell'd them to deliver themselves. Mr. Penruddock, and Mr. Grove were taken Prisoners, upon promise given by the Officer, that their Lives should be saved. Hist. Reb. This too is a pregnant Passage. It was not one P. 559. single Troop, but Troops, p. 601. The Officer Whitlocke, of no Credit, was not only the Son of Sergeant Croke, of the Family of Judge Croke, but a Bachelor of Laws in the University of Oxford, High Sheriff of Oxfordshire, and a Colonel of Horse in a Year or two after this Expedition; which shews, that it is not Extraction, or Office, or any other Qualification, which gave a Man Credit with his Lordship, if he was not a Disciple of Dr. Laud. He was not by Chance in those Parts, nor did he follow them at a distance. See Whitl. p. ib. Captain Croke having timely Intelligence, pursu'd them with his Troops, and at Southmolton overtook them. He did not intreat, but compel them to surrender. After a sharp Conflict he routed them, Whitl. took Penruddock, Jones, and Grove, &c. He did p. ib. not promise that their Lives should be sav'd. Croke deny'd that he ever made them any such Promise, A. Wood, p. 75. and Colonel Croke's Evidence would have been as good as Penruddock's, had it not been prov'd against him, that he was accusom'd to Fasting and Prayer, A. Wood Athen. 1043. for which Dr. South rated him finely in a Sermon, p. ib. Some of the Wiltshire Men being executed on the Suppression of this Insurrection; the Earl calls it a Butchery: but when Jefferies and Kirk hung up almost a hundred times as many of their Neighbours, 30 Years after, for taking Arms against Popery, there is not one Word of Butcher or Butchery in these Gentlemens Histories. That the Butchery

Hist. Reb.
p. 561.

Butchery might appear with Remorse, some were re-priev'd, and sold, and sent Slaves to the Barbadoes; where their Treatment was such, that few of them ever return'd into their own Country. Knowing very well the Practice of sending Men to Barbadoes, I was surpriz'd to see the Earl give into an idle Notion of the Populace, that all those Servants are Slaves like the Captive Seamen in *Sally*; that they are every day starv'd, and whipp'd, and pickled like thievish Negroes; whereas it is very likely that they work'd less, and fared better than the Hedgers and Ditchers in the County of *Wilts*: and tho' tis not likely that these Men were as honest as those that were transported by *Jesferies*, many of whom return'd Rich to their own Country, or liv'd well in the *West-Indies*, yet it must be their own Faults if they deserv'd such Treatment as shorten'd their Days there; for the Planters generally value the Labour of their Servants too much to kill them with ill Usage. *Thus this little Fire, which probably might have kindled and enflam'd all the Kingdom.* I cannot see where there was the least probability that it should kindle and enflame any Nook of it more than it did; for while the Parliament and the Army agreed, and while *Cromwell* kept the Soldiers in Discipline, and acted steadily and resolutely, there never was a Party of Malecontents so thoroughly suppress'd as was that of the Cavaliers. Those of them that were in Exile, liv'd in great impatience of getting home again, and believ'd every flattering Story which lessen'd their Despair; but those that remain'd in *England*, had been so often beaten, that none of them, who had their Wits about them, could think it probable that all the Kingdom would run after them in Distress, who had abandon'd them in the War. His Lordship however is always drawing Troops together, and drawing

drawing Forces to the Rendezvous, and drawing Soldiers into the Field in all parts of the Three Kingdoms, as if the King had had Garrisons and Camps for them to march from and to at the Command of his Generals, tho' both Generals and Armies were quarter'd as those at *Knightsbridge*, and lay every where *incognito*.

The whole Story of *Manning* is so pregnant, that I will not pretend to deliver it; only cannot but take notice, that not a Syllable is said of that Traytor's being Servant to Sir *Edward Hyde*, *Whil.* p. 618. On the contrary, Sir *Edward* Hist. Reb. assures us, *He could not prevail with himself to have* p. 566. *any familiarity with him, for which he was reproach'd; That Manning complains of his want of Kindness to him, &c.* All which is follow'd with a Representation of *Thurlo's* Credulity; and being impos'd upon by *Manning*, to send him 1000 Crowns at a Time for a parcel of Lyes. There is not a Mortal who ever heard of *Thurlo*, but is acquainted with his Character, which is not excell'd for Politicks by any of that Age; and it is extremely probable, that such a Politician as he would part with his Crowns by Thousands, to purchase some incredible, ridiculous Falsities of Sir *Edward Hyde's* Man. *Manning* might, and doubtless did write Lyes enough; but if *Thurlo* had not known that there was some Truth among them, which was worth his Money, the Noble Historian's Servant would have had no more Pistoles in his Pocket than his Fellows.

In the Account of the Insurrection in the North, we have an IF which gives great Importance to it. *Wilmot*, Earl of *Rochester*, was to have been at the Head of it, but when he came into *Yorkshire*, he found *some Mistake had been given in the Notice.* However, *some did appear, and undertook for those that were absent, that IF he would* as-

appoint another short Day, he should be well attended. When a Man's Neck is in Danger, it would not be Prudence to wait for the Success of our IF, especially since the Reasons of Marmaduke Darcy were against entring upon the Design, which were not to be urg'd now, when they were to execute it. Several of these Yorkshire Conspirators were taken, and among others Sir Henry Slingsby, a Papist, who was a Leader in that Conspiracy.

I just now explain'd my self, as to such Reflections on Papists, that I do not do it to reflect on the *Roman Religion*, as it is an Enemy to Civil Liberty. I have known Men of that Profession, who have been Lovers of their Country, good *Englishmen*, and good Neighbours; but to expose the Pretences of such, as would make us believe that the Royalists were the only true Protestants, while Themselves and the Papists were engag'd in the same Cause.

It was easy to foresee that *Cromwell* would make his Advantage of these desperate Risings, and a little Wisdom and Foresight would have depriv'd him of it; as there was really no hope of doing themselves good by them, but much Cause to apprehend that good would be done him. Had the Counsellors been so over-wise as they are represented, they would have prevented those rash and perilous Undertakings; yet there is such Infatuation among them, that after the fatal Catastrophe of the Undertakers, see how his Lordship describes the Uproar at *Salisbury*:
 Pag. 569. "The Success and Triumph at *Salisbury* produced such a Consternation throughout the Kingdom, as would have endanger'd the Security of the whole West, IF there had not happen'd some accidental Confusion, &c." This too is highly probable; but it is much more so, that *Cromwell* took hold of that Opportunity

to

to encrease his Power, and confirm his Authority, under colour of Conspiracies, which he despis'd.

The King's Heart was even broken at the Butchery frequently acted on the Royal Party, and the extreme Tyranny of the Usurper: But he could not be equally afflicted to see the Lords marshall'd with the Dregs of the People, as thus in *Oliver's* House of Peers,
 Robert E. of Warwick, Philip E. of Leicester,
 Sir Gilbert Pickering, Sir John Hobart,
 Edmund E. of Mulgrave, Charles Visc. Howard,
 Sir Charles Wolseley, Sir Richard Onslow,
 Edward E. of Manchester, Philip Lord Wharton,
 Sir Francis Russel, Sir Gilbert Gerrard,
 W. Ld. Visc. Say and Sele, Thomas Ld Falconbridge,
 Sir Thomas Honeywood, Sir William Strickland;
 with several other Lords, so marshall'd with the Dregs of the People, *Whitl.* p. 665.

These Gentlemen are as well vers'd in the Commerce, as in the other Interests of the Nation, as appears by their wishing that *Cromwell* would not keep *Jamaica*, but send for his Men home again, *Hist. Reb.* p. 580. The Levellers, who were mostly Anabaptists, and other as rigid Men, corresponded with the Spaniards, by the Intervention of an Irish Priest, to restore the King and Episcopacy, p. 583. which is so Simple and Sincere, and so Incredible too, that no doubt it will be copy'd by future Historians. And this Passage also, *Cromwell* sent a Person to treat with Colonel *Balthasar* to bring over a Regiment of Swiss, for a Guard to his Person; who would have been able to have guarded him long, after he had so dis-trusted and affronted his own Soldiers.

All Men had no Spirit, but from the Horror they had of the Confusion of *Cromwell's* Government. By this Representation, Religion was under Reproach, Trade in Decay, Justice in Banishment with the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and Right and Wrong

Wrong confounded at the Pleasure of the Protector. The contrary of which is the Truth, as far as it regards his Administration, and not the Means of his acquiring it. But every thing is in Confusion which the Chancellor has not the Management of. And methinks, this way of Thinking is like that of Bankrupts, who imagine other Men's Concerns to be as confus'd as their own.

Vol. III. I think the best Argument in the History is, Part II. where his Lordship reasons upon Cromwell's being made King. *The sober Persons of the King's Party trembled at this Overture, and believed that it was the only way utterly to destroy the King, &c.* As doubtless it was; for the Question would no longer have been *King or Commonwealth*, but *Stuart or Cromwell*. And when the Difference lay in the Name only, and not in the Thing, the Nobility and others who adhered rather to the Monarchy than the Person, would not have been so forward to venture their Lives and Fortunes for the sake of a Name only, when they had the Thing. Besides, as it was after his *Inauguration as Protector*, if he had liv'd ten or a dozen Years to have establish'd his Sovereignty; or, if his Son had had the same Genius and Spirit, there is no doubt to be made, but they would have been too Potent for all Opposition, which indeed consisted in nothing but desperate Risings and Assassination-Plots, without any solid Design, or real Strength; tho' the Earl of Clarendon speaks of the King's Counsels, and the Actions of his Friends in Exile, as of Matters of State and Power, in the midst of the greatest Confusion and Impotence. His own Share in the Administration of them, is the only thing that gives them Importance.

Cromwell's Ambition and Vanity in assuming the Sovereign Power, and being solemnly inaugurated in it, are notorious enough; but, to do him Justice,

Justice, *He did not resolve to do somewhat for himself, as the Earl writes*, in his Inauguration. The Parliament themselves order'd it, without his seeking. Whitl. p. 661. *A Committee was appointed to prepare for the Solemnization and Publishing of his Highness's Acceptance of the Government.* Ordered, *That the Master of the Ceremonies give notice to foreign Ambassadors and Ministers of the Inauguration of the Protector.* But the Earl tells thus, *They had not consider'd of the Formality of his Inauguration.*

His Lordship gives us a very good Account of P. 597. Admiral Blake's Victories at Sea, of his Death, pompous Burial, and Character; part of which I shal copy, to do Honour to the Memory of a Man who deserv'd so well of his Country, that no Monument could be too Magnificent to perpetuate the Remembrance of him. "He was the first Man that declin'd the old Tracks, and made it manifest, that the Science might be attain'd in less time than was imagined; and design'd those Rules which had been long in Practice, to keep his Ship and his Men out of Danger, which had been held in former Times a Point of great Ability and Circumspection; as if the principal Art requisite in the Captain of a Ship had been to be sure to come home safe again. He was the first Man who brought Ships to condemn Castles on Shore, which had been thought ever very formidable, and were discover'd by him to make a Noise only, and to fright those who could rarely be hurt by them. He was the first that infused that Proportion of Courage into the Seamen, by making them see by Experience, what mighty things they could do, if they were resolv'd; and taught them to fight in Fire as well as upon Water; and tho' he hath been very well imitated and follow'd, he was the first that gave the Example of that kind

" kind of Naval Courage, and bold and resolute " Atchievements." To which let me add, to the eternal Infamy of the Party that did it, He was the first Man who, after having acquir'd immortal Honour in the Service of his Country, which he made rich and renowned, had his sacred Ashes, when dead, profan'd by impious Hands, taken out of his Grave, and flung with the common Filth into a Pit in the Street, by Order of the Court not long after the Restoration. Men capable of such a detestable Action as that, must needs be the Wise, the Sober, the Virtuous, the Generous, the Brave, the Honourable, as they are represented by the Earl of Clarendon; or the quite contrary, as that Act of Impiety sufficiently proves, and lays a Mark upon them worse than all the Stigmatizings during the Tyranny of Laud.

Hist. Reb. When his Lordship comes to Cromwell's House
p. 603. of Peers, he assures us, *It did not appear to the Parliament what Jurisdiction they had*; when they themselves gave them that Jurisdiction by a long Article, *the Fifth of the Petition and Advice*. Again, *They question'd the Protector's Authority to send Writs to call them thither*. Quite contrary to this is *Whitlocke*; *The Parliament order'd the Commissioners of the Seal, with the Advice of the Judges, to prepare and frame a Writ for summoning the Members of the other House of Parliament to meet at such Time and Place as shall be appointed by his HIGHNESS; and the Commissioners are to seal such Writs, and to issue them out to such Persons, as his Highness, under his Sign Manual, shall direct and appoint*. Yet they question'd the Protector's Authority. *Who gave him that Authority to make Peers!* Why no body but themselves. *Whitl.* The House agreed to a Paper touching the Summoning such Persons who are to serve as Members in the other House of Parliament according

according to the Petition and Advice; and they agreed touching the Solemnities of his Highness's Inauguration; " which they did not provide for, nor consider," says the Earl, *p. 597*. This Misrepresentation is to expose the frequent Charge of Confusion in Cromwell and his Parliament's Counsels.

The King being in *Flanders*, made Sir Edward Hyde Lord High Chancellor of England, much against his Will, and many great Affairs accompanied it. There was so universal a Readiness of the King's Friends in *England*, that they could hardly be persuaded to stay, but would begin the Work themselves; and many young Men, who had no part in the former War, were impatient to shew their Courage, being acquainted with old Officers who saw many of their old Soldiers in *Oliver's Army*. There were also Meetings in the City, which was very much alter'd by binding many Gentlemen's Sons Prentices. On this kind *p. 614.* of Materials, many honest Men built their Hopes, & seq; and were impatient to be in Arms; to prevent which, Cromwell fill'd the Jails in City and Country, and Mr. Mordaunt had been hang'd, had not his beautiful young Lady bribed the High Court of Justice. This History is almost every Word his Lordship's, and is repeated as a further Proof of Simplicity and Sincerity, as it is in a very eminent Degree. The Address of the Anabaptists, Independents, and Quakers to the King in Exile. Fire and Water are much more easily blended than Quakers and Independents, or Quakers and Anabaptists. I do not believe the Earl was impos'd upon by the Cant of the Address, to think it genuine, but by the Assurances of the Cavalier Officer who brought it to the King, and no doubt valued himself much upon his Interest with those Denominations. The Style itself shews the Forgery, by the visible Affectation in it: " When
 Y " we

“ we sit down and recount the wonderful and
 “ unheard-of Dispensations of God amongst us :
 “ When we seriously consider the many Chan-
 “ gings, Turnings, and Overturnings, we can-
 “ not but be even swallow’d up in Astonishment.
 “ And since it is our Lot to be embark’d in a
 “ Shipwreck’d Commonwealth, which, like a poor
 “ Weather-beaten Pinnace, has for a long time
 “ been toss’d upon the Waves and Billows of
 “ Faction, split upon the Rocks of Violence, and
 “ is now almost quite devour’d in the Quick sands
 “ of Ambition ; we will try if it be the Will of
 “ God, that such weak Instruments as we, may
 “ be in any measure helpful to bring it at last
 “ into the safe and quiet Harbour of Justice and
 “ Righteousness. When we take a reflex View
 “ of our past Actions, and consider into the Com-
 “ mission of what Crimes, Impieties, Wickedness,
 “ and unheard-of Villanies we have been led,
 “ cheated, couzen’d, and betray’d by the grand
 “ Impostor, that loathsome Hypocrite, that de-
 “ testable Traytor, that Prodigy of Nature, that
 “ *Opprobrium* of Mankind, that Landskip of Ini-
 “ quity, that Sink of Sin, and that Compendium
 “ of Baseness, who now calls himself *Proteſtor*,
 “ &c.” Besides that the Railing discovers it to
 come from the Pen of some distress’d Cavalier,
 the Redundancy of Expression, and the great Flux
 of Words shew, that if it was not coin’d in the
 same Mint with the Characters, it there had its
 polishing. ’Tis certainly true, that the History
 of the *Grand Rebellion* might have been written
 with a tenth part of the Words which it now con-
 sists of, tho’ that *Copia Verborum* is doubtless the
 Charm which has gotten it the love of the Youth
 of our Academies. But what makes the Imposture
 still more apparent, is the confounding profane
 Learning with Scripture. “ In the midst of all
 “ our

“ our Abominations, we have not wanted Im-
 “ pudence enough to say, Let the Lord be glo-
 “ rified, Let Jesus Christ be exalted, Let the Gos-
 “ pel be propagated, Let the Saints be dignified,
 “ Let Righteousness be established.

Pudet hæc opprobria nobis

Aut dici potuisse, aut non potuisse refelli.

“ Will not the Holy-one of *Israel* visit ? Will not
 “ the Righteous-one punish ? Will not he who is
 “ the true and faithful-one be avenged ? &c.”
 Here the Actor over-acts his part, and spoils the
 Jest by giving us too much of it. Sign’d, *John*
Wildman, &c. The very Name of *Wildman* con-
 firms our suspicion of the Forgery. He would
 have as soon set his Hand to such a Contract as
Cromwell made with the Devil at *Worcester*, as to a
 Paper so full of ridiculous and absurd Rhapsodies.
 Compare this Address with *Wildman*’s Declaration
 against the Tyrant *Oliver Cromwell* in *Whitlocke*, p.
 600. and the difference of the Style will soon dis-
 cover that Major *Wildman* could not be Author of
 so much stupid Nonsense ; and every one who
 knows *Wildman*’s Character, knows he would not
 set his Name to a thing he could not write. He
 says of *Cromwell*, “ He could not think it possible,
 “ that a Man of such a mean Quality and Estate
 “ should aspire to make himself an absolute Lord
 “ and Tyrant over three potent Nations ; but
 “ above all, his pretended Zeal for God and his
 “ People, his high Professions of Piety, Simplicity,
 “ and Integrity ; his hypocritical Prayers, and
 “ Days of Fasting, his dissembled Humility and
 “ Meekness, and his frequent compassionate
 “ Tears upon every Occasion, &c. rock’d us
 “ asleep with the pleasing Dreams of Liberty and
 “ Justice, till he made a Sacrifice of all our Laws,
 “ Li-

" Liberties, and Properties to his own Ambition." As this Style is every whit as good as any in the History of the Rebellion, so the putting Major *Wildman's* Name to Language hardly worthy of *Hugh Peters*, is a Fraud which carries with it its own detection. The rest of the Names seem too to be made on purpose.

*Edward Penkynan,
John Aumigen,
John Sturgion.*

Very proper Names for such out-of-the-way Fellows as the Addressers are made to be.

His Lordship's Account of the Apprehension *Oliver* was always in towards the latter end of his Life, makes not much for the Credit of the Earl's Friends, as if they justify'd Assassinations, always abhorr'd by generous Enemies; but it must be own'd such bloody Enterprizes have been too much encouraged by a Party that are continually boasting of their Religion and Loyalty.

It was commonly said, that *Mrs. Claypole*, *Oliver's* favourite Daughter, did not approve of her Father's Usurpation; but few besides his Lordship insinuate, that what she said to him about it broke his Heart, p. 647. There was a Storm of Wind on the Day when *Cromwell* died; which the Earl describes, to intimate his passing into another World as the Devil does when he is conjur'd out of a House, throwing down every thing in his way. " The Day was very memorable for the greatest " Storm of Wind that had been ever known, for " some Hours before and after his Death, which " overthrew Trees, Houses, and made great " Wrecks at Sea; and the Tempest was so universal, that the Effects of it were terrible both " in *France* and *Flanders*, where all People trembled: for besides the Wrecks at Sea, many " Boats were cast away in the Rivers." Which,

me-

methinks, is no great Matter of Wonderment. If a Ship's lost, well may a Wherry. That his Lordship's way of Thinking differs in an extraordinary Manner from other Gentlemen's, Men of Sense, Learning, and Eloquence, appears by *Mr. Waller's* Thoughts on this very Subject.

*We must resign ! Heav'n his great Soul does claim
In Storms as loud as his immortal Fame.
His dying Groans, his last Breath shake our Isle,
And Trees, uncut, fall for his Funeral Pile:
About his Palace their broad Roots are tost
Into the Air : So Romulus was lost;
New Rome in such a Tempest mis'd her King,
And from obeying fell to worshipping.*

Part of the Character of *Cromwell* is so very much to the contrary of the Truth, that it must be remember'd. No Man with more wickedness ever attempted any thing, or brought to pass what he desir'd more wickedly, more in the Face and Contempt of Religion and moral Honesty. Whereas there never was a Man in Christendom who had more the Appearance of the highest Veneration for Religion, and the strictest Regard to moral Honesty. How foul soever it was within with him, it was fair without, excepting those Instances wherein his Principles or Power were concern'd; which he made no scruple to maintain by all the Methods he could, and justify'd it to his Conscience by the Sincerity of his Intentions: and truly, they were sincere enough in the Advancing of himself above his Brethren.

I shall enter further into this Man's Character in another Place, and shew what Foreigners, even Papists and such as liv'd under Arbitrary Monarchs, said of him. One could expect nothing better of the Earl of *Clarendon* than what is in his

History relating to *Oliver*; but Decency seem'd to require a little more Management, considering he was *Cromwell's* profess'd Enemy, and whatever he could say in his Reproach would therefore be suspected, especially where he lays a heap of Brimstone and Fire in *Cromwell's* way. He was guilty of many Crimes against which Damnation is denounced, and for which Hell-fire is prepared. He was not guilty of Adultery, Luxury, Profane Swearing, Sabbath-breaking, Idolatry, &c. But I know who was; and those are Sins against which Damnation is denounced, and for which Hell-fire is prepared. We shall have enough of that after the Restoration.

The Reign of *Richard* is a mere Dream, and he was no more fit for a Crown than he was for a Mitre. This miserable *Richard*, says the Earl of *Clarendon*, to whom the Princes of the Earth bow'd, and at whose Name only his Lordship trembled, never took any Delight in his mock Royalty, and gave it up with more Pleasure than he took it. *Desborough*, a Fellow of rude Temper. This Fellow was Admiral at Sea, and a Member of Parliament; but having married such a sorry Creature as the Grand-daughter of Sir *Oliver Cromwell*, it is this Fellow, as well as it was with *Mr. Ascham* and *Mr. Love*. Sure this is enough to give one a very just Idea of the Impartiality and Decorum of the Earl's History; as appears also in the miserable *Richard*, the poor Man, the poor Creature, p. 659. 'Tis true enough, the Creature was not so rich in Spirit as his Father, and it prov'd well for the Earl of *Clarendon* that he was not; but considering he had been the first Man in the three Kingdoms, and patiently laid down that Dignity for Peace-sake, I question whether the Sentiments of his Lordship's History would not have been as generous without those Terms, as they are with them.

The

The Parliament having Notice of their being to be dissolv'd, would not go to the House. "So that when *Fiennes* sent for them to the other House, the Commons shut the Door of their House, and would not suffer the Gentleman Usher of the "Black Rod to come in." The true Account is in *Whitlocke*: By Commission under the Great Seal to *Fiennes* and others, this Parliament was dissolved, and a Proclamation issued to declare it dissolved; which caused much trouble in the Minds of many honest Men. The Cavaliers rejoiced at it. The Lord Commissioner *Whitlocke* distinguishes between Cavaliers and honest Men.

'Tis hardly worth while to bring what follows of the History to the Restoration into Remark. The Anarchy thickens, and the Confusion is shameless and inexpressible.

The Rump being restor'd, the first Address to them was from that honest Man General *Monk*, in May 1659; and in May 1660, he address'd the King, who made him a Duke for it. This faithful General told the Parliament, some of whom he was very forward to send to *Tyburn* a Year or two after, "That a Nation may be born in a Day, is a Truth which this Day's Experience "witnesseth unto us above all the Dictates of "human Reason; and that glorious Cause, for which he soon after hang'd his dear Friend *Scot*, "whose Interest was laid low, even in the Dust, "should in one day be restored to its Life and "Lustre, cannot be imputed to less than the "greatest and most powerful Manifestation of the "Arm of God that ever this or former Generations "saw or heard of. You are the People by whom "God for so many Years fill'd the World with "so much Admiration and Terror." This is said by the Earl of *Clarendon's* Good Lord General *Monk*; but the Earl himself says, they were contemned by

Y 4

History relating to *Oliver*; but Decency seem'd to require a little more Management, considering he was *Cromwell's* profess'd Enemy, and whatever he could say in his Reproach would therefore be suspected, especially where he lays a heap of Brimstone and Fire in *Cromwell's* way. He was guilty of many Crimes against which Damnation is denounced, and for which Hell-fire is prepared. He was not guilty of Adultery, Luxury, Profane Swearing, Sabbath-breaking, Idolatry, &c. But I know who was; and those are Sins against which Damnation is denounced, and for which Hell-fire is prepared. We shall have enough of that after the Restoration.

The Reign of *Richard* is a mere Dream, and he was no more fit for a Crown than he was for a Mitre. This miserable *Richard*, says the Earl of *Clarendon*, to whom the Princes of the Earth bow'd, and at whose Name only his Lordship trembled, never took any Delight in his mock Royalty, and gave it up with more Pleasure than he took it. *Desborough*, a Fellow of rude Temper. This Fellow was Admiral at Sea, and a Member of Parliament; but having married such a sorry Creature as the Grand-daughter of Sir *Oliver Cromwell*, it is this Fellow, as well as it was with Mr. *Ascham* and Mr. *Love*. Sure this is enough to give one a very just Idea of the Impartiality and Decorum of the Earl's History; as appears also in the miserable *Richard*, the poor Man, the poor Creature, p. 659. 'Tis true enough, the Creature was not so rich in Spirit as his Father, and it prov'd well for the Earl of *Clarendon* that he was not; but considering he had been the first Man in the three Kingdoms, and patiently laid down that Dignity for Peace-sake, I question whether the Sentiments of his Lordship's History would not have been as generous without those Terms, as they are with them.

The

The Parliament having Notice of their being to be dissolv'd, would not go to the House. "So that when *Fiennes* sent for them to the other House, the Commons shut the Door of their House, and would not suffer the Gentleman Usher of the Black Rod to come in." The true Account is in *Whitlocke*: By Commission under the Great Seal to *Fiennes* and others, this Parliament was dissolved, and a Proclamation issued to declare it dissolved; which caused much trouble in the Minds of many honest Men. The Cavaliers rejoiced at it. The Lord Commissioner *Whitlocke* distinguishes between Cavaliers and honest Men.

'Tis hardly worth while to bring what follows of the History to the Restoration into Remark. The Anarchy thickens, and the Confusion is shameless and inexpressible.

The Rump being restor'd, the first Address to them was from that honest Man General *Monk*, in May 1659; and in May 1660, he address'd the King, who made him a Duke for it. This faithful General told the Parliament, some of whom he was very forward to send to *Tyburn* a Year or two after, "That a Nation may be born in a Day, is a Truth which this Day's Experience witnesseth unto us above all the Dictates of human Reason; and that glorious Cause, for which he soon after hang'd his dear Friend *Scot*, whose Interest was laid low, even in the Dust, should in one day be restored to its Life and Lustre, cannot be imputed to less than the greatest and most powerful Manifestation of the Arm of God that ever this or former Generations saw or heard of. You are the People by whom God for so many Years fill'd the World with so much Admiration and Terror." This is said by the Earl of *Clarendon's* Good Lord General *Monk*; but the Earl himself says, they were contemned by all

all sorts of People, p. 664. Nay, so contemptible were they indeed, that they *underwent the Scoffs* even of the Cavaliers; who were in a fine Condition to scoff at People.

General *Monk* to the *Rump* again; "God was pleased to make you the Praise and Wonder of the Earth, the Glory and Rejoycing of his People, and the Terror of your Adversaries." He desires they would provide for his late *Highness* Richard, that poor miserable Creature; and that they would vindicate and assert the native Rights and Liberties of these Nations in and by the Government of a Free STATE.

The Earl does not over-do it in the Character of Sir *Horatio Townsend*, a Gentleman liable to no Reproach or Jealousy; and the Truth is, he was a Gentleman in general good Esteem: but I cannot imagine that his being one of the Council of State, made by the *Rump*, was sufficient Reason for the King's Party to obey him in whatsoever he undertook, as his Lordship intimates; for Sir *Horatio Townsend* was a Man of too much Honour to betray his Trust, as *Monk* did. Tho' the Conspiracies to restore the King were wild and abortive during the first Power of the *Rump* and the two Protectorates, yet after the Army had restor'd the Parliament, whom they themselves had deposed, 'twas easy to see that the Nation would soon be weary of these State-Experiments, and fall into the old natural Government of England in the Royal Family. *Monk*, 'tis true, declares, that a Common-wealth is the native Rights of *Englishmen*; but I am not so much a Republican as he was, and think the native Rights of *Englishmen* consists in the Government of King, Lords, and Commons, as in our present happy Constitution. The Restoration accomplish'd itself: We cannot find by the Earl's History, that his Lordship

Whitlocke,
pag. 679.

Pag. 666.

ship, or any of the King's Counsellors abroad, had a Finger in it, further than writing and carrying a Letter or two; or that one Orthodox Man can reasonably claim a grain of Merit in the whole Process of it.

The Rising of Sir *George Booth*, produces the usual Effect, it raises the Spirits of the King's Party, and alarms the Parliament. Sir *George's* Men are in an Instant an Army, and all of them desirous to fight. That Desire was shown by *Lambert's* following them so close, that they could not avoid fighting. p. 684.

"The Parliament resolv'd if they wanted Evidence to imprison People, the suspecting them should be sufficient, p. 674." *Whitlocke* tells us, p. 682. Many Persons were examin'd by the Council about a New Conspiracy, which was evidently prov'd, &c.

"His Royal Highness the Duke of *York* found an Opportunity to confer with his old Friend *Marshall Turenne*, Hist. Reb. p. 674." That Friendship could not but be very old, considering his Royal Highness was then but in his Five and Twentieth Year; but by that we are given to understand, that the Marshal had been long in love with the Duke of *York*, on account of Agreement between their Heroical Tempers.

We have frequently observ'd, that the Earl had engross'd all the *Wise Men* to his Party; and speaking of the *Pyrenean* Treaty, we are told in what their Wisdom was made apparent. "It is believ'd by *Wise Men*, that in that Treaty somewhat was agreed to the Prejudice of the Protestant Interest;" which was prevented by the Overthrow of the Protestant Parliament in England, and the putting a Popish King on the Throne, Hist. Reb. p. 686. These are the judicious Reflections of the *Wise Men*, as is that of Cardinal *Mazarine's* being struck dead with the

the Agony of the King's Prosperity, p. ib. Another as wife Thought is, that *if* King Charles had gone to *Madrid* from *Saragosa*, his Entry must have cost the Court of *Spain*, as much Money as the *Interview, Marriage, and Delivery of the Infanta*; for a King *Incognito* was never heard of in *Spain*, nor a King *Cognito*, unless he was a Prisoner, as I ever heard of.

"The King was receiv'd by *Don Lewis de Haro*, and treated with the same Respect and Reverence that could be shew'd to his Catholick Majesty himself; *Hist. Reb. p. 688.*" "His Majesty gave great Indications of his Steadiness for the Protestant Religion, p. 689." which, by the way, his Majesty had renounced at *Fonterabia*, if we may believe the History of an Archdeacon, p. 750. Yet the restoring him to the Crown of these Three Protestant Kingdoms was *such a prodigious Act of Providence, as God hath scarce vouchsafed to any Nation, since he led his own chosen People through the Red Sea.*

Pag. 695. "Vane was not a Man to be describ'd by any Character of Religion, in which he had swallow'd some of the Fancies and Extravagancies of every Sect and Faction." The Quality and Merit of Sir *Henry Vane* do not guard against this Insult. This Noble Person was Author of several Tracts, particularly one entitled *His Healing Question*, wherein his Opinions are plainly stated. Ludlow's Character of Sir *Henry Vane*, proves how liable he was to *Fancies and Extravagancies.* "He had a quick and ready Apprehension, a strong and tenacious Memory, a just and noble Eloquence. But these, and other excellent Qualities, as they could not defend his Reputation against the Reproaches the Earl casts upon it, so they could not defend his Life against the Cruelty and Injustice of the Administration, when the Historian was Vol. III. Lord Chancellor. Ludlow, p. 112. "After the Ex-

"Expiration of Two Years, they who fear'd his Abilities, and knew his Integrity, thought convenient to violate the publick Faith, and under a Form of Law, to put him to Death." One of those who so thought fit, was the Author of the History of the Rebellion, who closes Sir *Henry's* Character thus: "He was a perfect Enthusiast, and without doubt did believe himself inspired; which so far corrupted his Reason and Understanding, that he did at some time believe he was the Person deputed to reign over the Saints upon Earth for a Thousand Years." Which surely will speak it self, when compar'd with what General *Ludlow* says of the same Noble Person.

In the Character of *Monk* there is something opposite to this; *He had no Fumes of Fanaticism to turn his Head.* Witness his Letter to the Parliament before mention'd; *Do not heal the Wound of the Daughter of God's People slightly, when God's Hour is come, and the time of his People's Deliverance; the Restoration of the Rump: Even the set time is at hand, he cometh skipping over the Mountains of Sin and Unworthiness: We beseech God to heal the Backslidings of his People, &c.* Ludlow's Character of *Monk* has no other Proof but the History of his Actions. "A Person of an ambitious and covetous Temper, Pag. 643. "of loose, or rather no Principles, and of a vicious and scandalous Conversation." He is the good Lord General with the Earl of *Clarendon*, whose Account of General *Fleetwood*, whom he had before call'd the *Trooper*, is equally pleasant and edifying. "When he was desired to go and appease the Soldiers, he would fall upon his Knees to his Prayers; and when he was amongst them, and in the middle of any Discourse, he would invite them all to Prayers, and put himself upon his Knees before them. And "when

"when some of his Friends importuned him to appear more vigorous in his Charge, they could get no other Answer from him than that *God had spit in his Face, and would not bear him.*" This has the honest Face of Credibility, as much as that about Sir *Henry Vane*. I do not find these Gentlemen at any Time so merry and witty, as when they have caught Men upon their Knees saying their Prayers.

Hist. Reb.
p. 708.

Besides, it might be expected from *Monk's* Judgment; which was undoubtedly inferior to *Lambert's*, if not to that of every one of the Officers in the Parliament Army; and they might have expected from *Lambert* or *Fleetwood's* Judgment, what happen'd to them from *Monk's*, if either of those Generals could have been prevail'd upon to betray their Trust, and raise themselves to Riches and Honour by Deceit and Perjury. Mr. *Locke*, who knew what good Judgment is as well as the Earl of *Clarendon*, says, *Monk was no quick Man*. And Monsieur *Bourdeaux*, the French Ambassador, thought him neither Courtier nor Statesman. But Men, whose Consciences are their Slaves, and who can sacrifice Honour and Principle to their Pride and Avarice, do not want Judgment to carry on their bad Work, so much as just and generous Minds: it is but to get into Places of Trust by Oaths and Religious Engagements, and then to break 'em all on the first Occasion; for those who trusted them, depending entirely on their Fidelity, do not guard against their Dissimulation and Falshood, as they do against profest Enmity, or open Opposition. Tho' *Monk* had no quick Parts, and was no Statesman, he had Cunning enough to keep himself to himself; and by taking all Oaths, and all Engagements against the King, he found a fair Occasion to restore him; which an honest Man, with better Judgment, could

could not so easily have done. But it must be confess'd to be scandalously weak in the Rump, not to perceive from the Beginning that he would do as he did, after he had put it out of their Power to hinder it. And the heavier his Understanding was, it was the more shame for them to be impos'd on by him. General *Ludlow* saw his Design immediately, and, as he tells us, would have prevented it, had the majority of the Parliament fallen in with him. It is well for us who have liv'd, and do live under the best Government in the World, that the majority of Parliament did not fall in with *Ludlow*. We should then have been deprived of the Glorious Reigns of King *William*, Queen *Mary*, Queen *Anne*, and King *George*, under whom our Religion, Laws, and Liberties, have flourish'd more than ever they had done since the Death of Queen *Elizabeth*. But what Opinion cou'd People have of *Monk's* Services to the Publick after the Restoration, when so many poor Men lost their Lives for *Sham Plots*, and so many good Protestants were destroy'd or ruin'd by Persecution for Conscience sake? When the People were robb'd of their Liberties by *Quo Warranto's*, and of both Liberties and Properties by the *Spiritual Courts*? When Popery appear'd Triumphant, and an Army of *Irish* Papists was brought over to finish King *James's* Triumph over our Religion and Laws? Then should some *Dr. Webster* have publish'd the Life and glorious Actions of the good Lord General *Monk*, that those Blessed Times might have done homage to his Memory for the wonderful Blessings they enjoy'd by his Means, as *Webster*, *Gumble*, *Price*, and other reverend Historians inform us. However Mr. *Locke* is positive, that Sir *Anthony Ashley-Cooper*, was the main Instrument in the King's Restoration, and that *Monk* would have hinder'd it

it if he could. See the History of England, by the Archdeacon of Stow, p. 758, tho' that Historian objects to it purely on account of Mr. Locke's Evidence, it being singular. Now let the Reader determine whose Credit is to be prefer'd, the single Evidence of Mr. Locke, or the Testimony of Price, Gumble, Webster, and a Cloud of such Witnesses.

Hist. Reb. *A Man notorious in those Times, Praise-God Barebone, in the Head of a crowd of Sectaries, deliver'd p. 714 a Petition, that all the Nobility, Clergy, and Gentry of the King's Party, might be utterly extirpated, and that no Person might teach a School who did not abjure the King. Mr. Whitlocke writes soberly of this Petition. "Address of divers Citizens presented " by Mr. Praise-God Barebone, of adhering to this " Parliament." And it is not very Credible that Men in their Wits should demand the A. b. c. to be taken away from Cavalier School-mistresses. Such a wise Business as that could only enter into the Noddles of the Contrivers of the last Schism Bill. Coke tells us, Barebone's Address was to exclude the King and Royal Family, and those that refus'd, not to be capable of any Employment; which was no more than the good Lord General Monk himself had address'd for but a few Days before.*

There has been much Debate about Monk's taking the last Abjuration Oath against the Royal House of Stuart, which I do not think to be of any Consequence; for there was an Oath prior to that, and an Engagement against a single Person, Kingship, and an House of Peers, which Monk had taken: besides, about a Month before he engaged to restore the King, he solemnly declared to the Parliament, *If the People find, that after so long and bloody a War against the King for breaking in upon their Liberties, yet at last he must be taken in again, it will be out of question, and is most manifest, he*

*may govern by his Will. And as to the Interest of this famous City, it must lie in a Commonwealth, that Government only being capable to make them through the Lord's Blessing the Metropolis and Bank of the Trade for all Christendom. I take no Notice of his mocking that tremendous Name; for there does not appear the least evidence of serious and pure Religion in the whole Course of these Gentlemen's Proceedings. They have very often the Church in their Mouths, but whether they mean serious and pure Religion by it, I leave to the Reader to determine; and having so often said, that the King was restored by the Presbyterians, let us see what were the General's Religious Principles. Indeed moderate Presbyterian Government appears at present to be the most indifferent and acceptable way to the Church's Settlement. By this we see he was entirely Presbyterian, and by what he said before, entirely Republican; but the Promise of a Garter, a Ducal Coronet, a Battoon, and 10000 Pounds a Year, is enough to stagger Principles which were better founded than Monk's; especially if what Ludlow says is true, That he had no Principles at all; and his Actions do not speak much to the contrary. We have seen what Opinion General Monk had of the War against the King for breaking in upon their Liberties; which the Earl of Clarendon, thro' all the three Folio Histories, calls the Rebellion. We have also seen what the Parliament, after the Rump was roasted, and the secluded Members were restor'd, thought of it. They excepted all out of Offices who did not first declare under Hand, That they confess and *Hist. Reb.* acknowledge'd, that the War rais'd by the Two Houses p. 721. of Parliament against the late King was Just and Lawful, until such time as Force and Violence was used upon the Parliament. It is this very Just and Lawful War, this the Earl styles the Grand Rebellion,*

bellion, of which more elsewhere. Let us now see what Monk said again of it in a Letter he wrote to some of his own Countrymen in the West, who had address him for the Restitution of the seclused Members; wherein he told them, *He cou'd not do it, because it was not only contrary to his own frequent Declarations, but directly opposite to the Interest of a Commonwealth: A Thing not to be done by him, or born by them, it being a total Reversing of all that had been done for the last twelve Years in England, Scotland, and Ireland, and tending to charge the Nation with all the Blood that had been shed during that time.* What follows, proves his being that good Churchman, which Dr. Webster, and the other Doctors declare he was. *It would unsettle the Possession of Deans, Chapters, Delinquents, Crown and Rebels Lands. The Rebels in General Monk's Letters are the Cavaliers. In the Earl of Clarendon's History, the Roundheads are the Rebels. So much do those two Friends differ in their way of thinking and speaking on this Subject. In fine, says General Monk, if we should suffer Monarchy to return amongst us after so long a Fruition of a Commonwealth, we should be driven to a worse Condition than ever, and put past all hopes of appearing to defend our Liberty any more. And that this Opinion of his might be taken notice of, he caused it to be printed and publish'd. Ludlow, p. 812.*

Hist. Reb.
p. 728.

This very seasonable Victory; it is Lambert's rendering himself to Ingoldsby, that's the Victory, for there was no fighting, Whitl. p. 701. Lambert would not fight. Again, there was no fighting: but because Ingoldsby, one of the Murderers of the King, had given himself to Monk, for which, instead of being hang'd, he was made a Knight of the Bath at the Coronation of King Charles II. this no fighting is a Victory.

He

*He found most Men of Quality and Interest inclin'd to call in the King, but upon such Conditions as must be very ungrateful, if possible to be receiv'd; such as King Charles the First's Concessions at the Isle of Wight, which were no doubt ungrateful enough, but so possible to be receiv'd, that they were consented to by the King himself; and King Charles II. was not in a Condition to refuse any Concessions, provided he could come at the Crown, and his Followers to the Offices for which they had so long and so impatiently waited. Ludlow informs us, that "Some were for calling in the Lords who sat in the Year 1648; that they, together with the Commons, might enter into a Treaty with the King for a future Establishment: But Monk being earnestly desirous to bring back the King without any Conditions, in hopes thereby to procure a Recompence equal to the greatness of his Treachery, prevented the Success of that Proposition." How well this agrees with what he tells us Monk said just before to Sir Arthur Haselrigge and others? *I do here protest to you, in the Presence of all these Gentlemen, that I will oppose, to the utmost, the setting up of Charles Stuart, a single Person, or a House of Peers. He then expostulated with them touching their Suspicions: What is it I have done in bringing the seclused Members into the House? Are they not the same that brought the King's Head to the Block? tho' others cut off his Head, and that justly too. Not a Word of this in the History of the Rebellion, nor in the three Doctors History of this Duke. Neither do we any where find that Cardinal Mazarine offer'd to make Lockhart, a Scots Presbyterian, a Marshal of France, but in the Earl's History.**

Sir Charles Coot, who was President of Connaught, was a Man of less Guilt and more Courage. This Knight being engaged with Monk, has merited

Z

his

his Lordship's good Word; but *Ludlow* says he had more Guilt. "He was well acquainted with the Bottom of *Monk's* Design, and conscious to himself how much he had exasperated the King's Friends in *Ireland* by his constant Opposition to them, having added to all the rest, the Execution of one *Stuart*, that was related to the Royal Family." The next Words shew us how he deserv'd these kind Expressions in his Lordship's History. "He thought he could never do any thing horrid enough to those of his own Party, in order to reconcile himself to the other; therefore that he might give them what Assurances he could, that he was wicked enough to be employed and trusted by them, he seized the Chief Justice *Cooke*, to make some amends to his sacred Majesty by that Sacrifice." The Letter which the Earl intimates was sent to the Marquis of *Ormond* by Sir *Charles Coot*, appears plainly to be his Lordship's own Writing; for *Coot* could not call the Enemies to the Parliament the sober Party: *The present Power removed all the sober Men from the Government of the State, and put Ludlow, Corbet, &c. in their Places.* Would not one think this same General *Ludlow*, and Mr. *Corbet*, were a couple of ranting, drunken, raking Fellows? whereas there were not two Men of more sober Principles and Practices in the three Kingdoms, excepting that they were errant Commonwealth-Men; and Sobriety does not consist with any thing that's Republican. The *Spartans*, *Athenians*, the *Carthaginians*, and the old *Romans*, were all Madmen. Now it happens unluckily that we have *Ludlow's* Memoirs before us, and he assures us, the Officers he turn'd out were guilty of habitual Immoralities, and most of them debauch'd in their Principles. I really believ'd that the sober Men spoken of in *Coot's* Letter, were such

fort

sort of Persons, before I examin'd *Ludlow's* account of them; for Sobriety thro' the whole History of the Rebellion is almost always the Qualification of Men of the like Principles and Morals, Enemies to the Purity of Religion and Life. I appointed, says *Ludlow*, Persons to enquire into their Principles and Practices, and dismissed such as appear'd incorrigible; the Sober Men. *Coot*, in a Conference with General *Ludlow*, about the same time that this Letter is suppos'd to be written, said, I am fully convinced my Interest is involv'd in the Preservation of the Parliament, all that I enjoy being derived from their Authority; and as I oppos'd the late King in his Arbitrary Designs, so I will continue to act in conformity to those Actions, well knowing that if the Son should happen to prevail, the English Interest will be lost in *Ireland*, and the Irish restor'd to the Possession of their Lands, according to an Agreement pass'd between them. A few Pages after, the General says, Sir *Charles Coot* was join'd by all those that were displac'd for Debauchery, whom the Earl terms the Men of Sobriety. Pag. 781.

The Parliament which brought in the King, met the 25th of April 1660, and Sir *Harbottle Grimston* being chosen Speaker, the great Share he had in the Grand Rebellion, as the Earl of *Clarendon* terms it, is forgotten, and 'tis, he rather continu'd than concurr'd with them; whereas in every thing but the Tryal and Death of the King, he concurr'd as heartily as any Member of the House of Commons, and was afterwards a Member of Parliament in *Oliver's* Usurpation. He concurr'd with them so far, that his House was fortify'd against the Cavaliers in the *Essex* Insurrection, under *Goring*, *Lucas*, *Liste*, &c. and being reduced by that Party, they turn'd his Lady out of the House, miserably ruin'd it, and carry'd away and broke all the Goods, *Whist. p. 310, 311.* The

Z 2

Dis

Disguises in this History are as thin as they are unnecessary. Sir *Harbottle Grimston* was never ashamed of his being for taking Arms against Delinquents and ill Ministers, in defence of the Peoples just Rights and Liberties. He was weary of the Usurpations and Variations of Government, from the Destruction of the Commonwealth, to the Meeting of this Parliament. The most material and easy way to a Settlement, was to restore the old *English* Constitution, and accordingly he was very zealous for the Restoration of the King.

Col. *Ingoldsby* was one of the King's Judges, and sign'd a Warrant for his Execution; yet because he joyn'd with *Monk*, and sacrific'd his old Friends to his new ones, some Excuse is found for him by the Earl of *Clarendon*, and told with singular Gravity: He was only named among the Judges of the King, he never once sate, he abhor'd the Action, and *Cromwell* wrote his Name to the Warrant without his Consent, Hist. Reb. p. 763. The Archdeacon of *Stow*, in his History of *England*, p. 654, assures us, Col. *Ingoldsby* actually sate and assisted as a Judge. *A. Wood*, p. 77. affirms, He was present and stood up as consenting when Sentence pass'd for beheading the King, and he afterwards set his Hand to the Warrant for his Execution. The Earl of *Clarendon*, on the contrary, as direct as *Arctick* and *Antarctick*, assures us, He was never once present, p. 763. and did not set his Hand to the Warrant, p. ib. The Fact is, for taking *Lambert* Prisoner, whom these Gentlemen stood in mortal Fear of, he was pardon'd and made a Knight of the *Bath*.

Pag. 758. The abovemention'd Archdeacon writes thus; "Tis justly believ'd, that during the King's Stay at *Fonterabia*, he embrac'd the Religion of the Church of Rome:" But Father *Huddleston*, who gave him Extreme Unction at his Death, insinuates, that his Conversion to *Popery* was as early as a little after

after the Battle of *Worcester*; and about a Year after P. 1051. ter he had thrice most solemnly and religiously sworn to the *Presbyterian* Covenant. The Earl of *Clarendon* could not be a Stranger to this Conversion; and the Lord St. *John* offer'd in the House of Commons, to prove that the Earl own'd the King was a Papist; yet pray observe how his Lordship speaks of this Parliament's Address to him at *Breda*: "We look up to the Great King of Kings, and bless his Name, who hath put these Thoughts into the Heart of our King, and the Support which he hath given to your Heroick and Princely Mind, makes it appear to all the World, that you are precious in his Sight; and we have yet more Cause to enlarge our Praise and our Prayers to God for your Majesty, that you have continued unshaken in your Faith; that neither the Temptation of Allurements, Persuasions, and Promises from the seducing Papist on one hand, nor the Persecution and hard Usage from some seduced misguided Professors of the Protestant Religion on the other hand, could at all prevail on Your Majesty, to make you forsake the Rock of *Israel*, the God of your Fathers, and the true Protestant Religion, in which your Majesty hath been bred; but You have still been as a Rock your self, firm to Your Covenant with Your and our God, even now expressing Your Zeal and Affection for the Protestant Religion, and your Care and Study for the Propagation thereof. This hath been a Rejoycing of Heart to all the Faithful of the Land, and an Assurance to them that God would not forsake You; but after many Tryals, which should but make You more precious, as Gold out of the Fire, would restore Your Majesty." One may defy all Readers to produce a Passage which is more *Presbyterian* than this; yet his Lordship informs us, Z 3 the

the *Presbyterians* in this Parliament, were rather troublesome than powerful; but their Address is not taken Notice of on that account. It is to observe the unparallel'd Hypocrisy of those that advis'd the King to declare himself zealous for the Protestant Religion, which he had renounced, as if they could deceive God as well as the People of *England*.

The first thing the Duke of York did in the Exercise of his Office of Admiral, was to new Christen the Fleet, which too much preserved the Memory of the late Governors, and of the Republic; and which preserv'd also the Memory of many notable Victories, to the Glory of the *English* Name, which wither'd and became nothing in a few Years after; but was revived by the Revolution, and is now the Envy of the World. This new Christen'd Fleet had little or no Employment, 'till the same Duke destroyed the *Dutch* Ships with them. The Ships of that State, who had deserved so well of the King and his Brother. *Hist. Reb.* "The Entrance into the *Hague*, and the Reception there, and the conducting his Majesty to the House provided for him, was very magnificent, and in all Respects answerable to the Pomp, Wealth, and Greatness of the State. The Treatment of his Majesty and all who had relation to his Service, at the State's Charge, during the Time of his Abode there, which continued many Days, was incredibly noble and splendid; and the universal Joy so visible, that it could only be exceeded by that of his own Subjects. A set Number of the States was appointed to wait in the Court to receive his Majesty's Commands, &c. Again, After eight or ten Days spent at the *Hague* in Triumphs and Festivals, which could not have been more splendid if all the Monarchs of *Europe* had met there, and which were concluded with several rich Presents to his Majesty, the King

"King took his Leave of the States, with all the Professions of Amity their Civilities deserved, &c." The very same noble Person in a Speech to the Parliament four or five Years after, has these Expressions; "Notwithstanding the Indignities which his Majesty received from *Holland*, during the late Usurpation, where he had been little less proscribed than in *England*. Again, "They load us with such Reproaches, as the Civility of no other Language will admit the Relation. The Truth is, they have a Dialect of Rudeness so peculiar to their Language and their People, that it is high Time for all Princes to fall upon them." And then comes a Plot, carry'd on by Col. *Sidney*, Gen. *Ludlow*, and two or three nameless Fanaticks, to join with the *Hollanders* against the King; for which some of the Plotters are sure to be hang'd, tho' for no other Reason than to give Credit to the Sham. "With the Commissioners there came a Company of their Clergymen, who would not be look'd upon as Chaplains to the rest; but being the popular Preachers of the City, *Reynolds*, *Calamy*, *Cafe*, *Manton*, desired to be thought to represent that Party." By this it appears, That these Gentlemen thrust themselves in among the Commissioners, who were order'd to wait upon the King at *Breda*. The Truth is, they were authorized by the same Authority. The Parliament, who ordered the Commissioners, ordered them also to wait upon his Majesty.

By these remarkable Steps, some of the last Words of the History, did the merciful Hand of God bind up and heal all those Wounds; and after this miraculous Restoration of the Crown and the Church, no Nation under Heaven can ever be more happy, &c. I am under Amazement, to see how solemnly the Name of God is made use of, in a Revolution which was immediately follow'd with a general Corruption

of Manners, with all Sorts of Profaneness and Impiety, Luxury and Riot, to the Scandal of the Christian Name. His Lordship cannot express the Joy, which Mr. Coke calls the *Madness* of the People; and I shall conclude my *Remarks* with what is said by that Author, *Vol. II. p. 108.* In the times preceding the *Restoration*, There was a Countenance of Godliness and Sobriety; whereas in the Jollity at the King's Coming in, all sorts of Men endeavour'd to imitate the profuse Prodigality and Luxury of the Court, which scarce entertain'd any but upon those Terms. To humour the King, the publick Theatres were stuff'd with most obscene Actions and Interludes, and the more obscene pleased the King the better, who grac'd the Opening of them with his Presence, &c. *Ludlow, Vol. III. p. 21.* "The Dissolution and Drunkenness of the Restoration Night, was so great and scandalous in a Nation which had not been acquainted with such Disorders for many Years past, that the King, who stood still in need of the Presbyterian Party, which had betrayed all into his Hands, for their Satisfaction caus'd a Proclamation to be publish'd, forbidding the Drinking of Healths; but resolving for his own part to be oblig'd to no Rule of any Kind, he publickly violated his own Order at a Debauch in the *Mulberry-Garden*, and more privately at another Meeting in the City, where he drank Healths to the utmost Excess 'till two in the Morning."

What can be more terrible than to see them manifesting the Arm of the Lord, and the merciful Hand of God, in a Revolution which was accomplish'd by Treachery and Perjury, in such as were employ'd by the Common-Wealth, and had sworn Fidelity to them, with such Wickedness of Life, and such Violence towards the Consciences of Men? Amidst all which, the Earl rejoices without measure, in the Triumph of the Crown and the Church.

F I N I S.

I N D E X.

A.

- A B C, forbidden, pag. 334.
 Abbot, Archbishop, his Character of *Laud*, 17. Lord Clarendon's Character of him, 25. not true, 26.
 Absolution, used by Presbyterians, 134.
 Absurdity, a particular Sort, 228.
 Address of the Parliament that restored the King, 341.
 Address of the Baptists to the King in Exile, 321.
 Addressees, how got by *Harley*, 58.
 Affronts put on Col. *Middleton*, 166.
 Allegations and Sense, the worse for being common, 256.
 Alresford, Battle of, the reverse to Truth, 162.
 Andover, Lord, his Speech against *Star-chamber* Court, 75.
 Anteus, who like him, 141.
 Antrim, Marquis, an Irish Rebel justify'd, 86.
 Apostates State dangerous, 96.
 Argyle, Marquis, what he wanted, 288.
 Arm of God, to what apply'd, 344.
 Army, their Plot against the Parliament, 68.
 Army, Parliament, their Natural Dress, 235.
 Ascham, Mr. murder'd in Spain, 290.
 Arrogance not Impudence, 292.
 Assassins, Gallant Men, 252. By whom encourag'd, 324.
 A. Wood, contradicts the Lord Clarendon, 25, 26.

B.

- Balfour, Sir William, why vilified in the History, 90.
 His Retreat in *Cornwal* misrepresented, 167.
 Barebone, Praise God, his Parliament, 306. Their Acts, 307.
 Barometer, the Earl's, 156.
 Bankrupts, how they think, 318.

Bishop,

INDEX.

Bishops, Eight, made Privy-Counsellors, 25. Their War, 33. Soldiers would not fight in it, 39, 40, 42.
Blake, General, his Gallantry, 283. A Terror to Spain, *ib.* His great Actions, 319. His Ashes taken out of his Grave, and thrown into a Pit, 320.
Blasphemy, of the Presbyterians, 125.
Blessings of the Restoration, 333.
Boileau, what he says of Liberty, 127.
Bristol, Citizens, plunder'd and murder'd, 144.
Brown, Col. why he is commended, 165.
Brown, Serjeant, prosecutes *Laud*, 178. Made a Judge by *K. Charles II.* *ib.*
Buckingham, Duke of, his Rise and Ingratitude, 5.
Butchery, what it is, 313, 317.

C.

Calamy, Doctor, his Character of the Cavaliers, 22. Of the scandalous Minister, 210.
Carisbroke-Castle, will hold all England, 232.
Casuits, Learned ones, 231.
Cavaliers, their hopeful Circumstances, 236, 239. Bewitch'd, 248.
Ceremonies are the Church, 57. When edifying, 58. By whom abused, 59.
Cavaliers, Godly, 159.
Cessation in Ireland, Fatal and Illegal, 152, 153.
Characters, Lord *Clarendon's*, partial and imaginary, 26, 36, 37, 68, 72, 84, 92.
Cessation with the *Irish* Rebels, saved the Protestants, 174. Prov'd to be just by the Lord *Clarendon*, 181.
Charity, remarkable, 83.
Charles I. what Lord *Clarendon* writes of his ill Governing, 12, 13. His wife Reign, 20, 30. again, 35. again, 44. Owns his Male-Administration, 51, 77. Wife Reign, 88. Low Condition, 98. His Hatred to Papists, 175, 177. His Letter about the Cessation with the *Irish* Rebels, 184. Ruin'd by his Counsellors, 188. Govern'd by the Queen, 201. And Counsellors, 214.
Charles I. Contrives to raise a New War, 220. His Sincerity, 221. Praises the Covenant, 231. Agrees to abolish Episcopacy, 231. The Cavaliers the Cause of his Death, 240. His Magnanimity, 122. Wife

INDEX.

Wife and Gracious, 136. Buys Peace of the *Irish* Rebels, 152. Ill advised, 253. Takes the War on himself, 254. Ill Counsellors his Ruin, 250. Obstinate, 261. A great Divine, 262. Three Opinions about him, 269. Better belov'd than Queen *Elizabeth*, 270. Earl of *Clarendon's* Character of him compared with *Coke's*, 274, 275. His Death justified by *Monk*, 337.
Charles II. takes the Covenant three times, 216, 279. Scorns a French Pension when Prince, and takes it when King, 235. How wisely he acted, 278. Religious Hardships put upon him by the Scots, 290. His Letter burnt by the Hangman, 298. What Sir *Richard Willis* said of restoring him, 301. What *Mazarine* said of his Counsellors, 302. Why he left France, 310. What the Pope said of him, *ib.* Not restor'd by the Royalists, 329. Turns Papist before the Restoration, 330. His Excellent Government, 333. Abjured by *Monk*, 334. Restored by the Presbyterians, 335. Parliament that restor'd him, their Address, 341. His Sincerity, 340, 341, 342. A Papist, *ib.*
Cheyne, Dr. his Conference with Mr. *Chillingworth* about the Civil War, 161.
Chillingworth, Mr. praises the Parliament Army, 161. Is an Engincer, 156. What he said of the Five Members, 158.
Church, what it is, according to Lord *Clarendon*, and others, 19. Again, 178. And again, 335.
Clanrickard, Marquis, his Noble Memoirs recommended, 305.
Clarendon, Lord, flatters the Duke of *Buckingham*, 5. Out about *Overbury*, *ib.* And the Parliament, 6. And King *James the First's* being poison'd, 7. Against King *Charles's* First Parliament, 10. Contradicts *Whitlocke*, *ib.* 7. And *Wilson*, 10. And *Whitlocke* again, *ib.* Owns many Grievances, 11. Misrepresents the Times, 12. Contradiction, 12, 13. The Occasion of it, *ib.* Misrepresentation, *ib.* Against the Lord Keeper *Williams*, 14. Again, 28. Wrong, *ib.* 15, 16. And in Praise of *Laud*, 16, 7. Contradicts Archbishop *Abbot*, 17. and *Whitlocke*, 18. His fine

INDEX.

fine Saying of the Parliament 1640, 20. The Foundation of the History, *ib.* Contradicts Dr. Calamy, 22. And Sir Benjamin Rudyard, 22. And Sir Harbottle Grimstone, 23. And Whitlocke, 23. His Account of the Beauty of Holiness, *ib.* 24. And of the Reformation, 24. Of Archbishop Abbot, not true, 25, 26. Contradicted by A. Wood, 25, 26. Against the Popular Preachers, 27. His Account of Devotion, 27. Contradicts Bishop Hacker, 28. Against Queen Elizabeth, 28, 29. Contradicts the Scots Historians, 29, 32. And himself, 31. And all Histories, 33. The very Reverse to Whitlocke, 36, 37. He minces Matters, 39. Contradicts Whitlocke, *ib.* And himself, 40. And Whitlocke, 41. And Ludlow, 42. And the Scots Historians, 43. His Speech against Lord Strafford, 45. Contradicts himself, 48. And Dr. Calamy, 52. And Whitlocke, 53. And Dr. Calamy again, 56. Of the Church, 57. Contradicts Whitlocke, 57. Against London, 58. Contradicts Whitlocke, 60. Against the Triennial Bill, 61. Contradicts Bishop Hacker, 64, 69. And Ludlow and Whitlocke, 67. Whitlocke again, 68. And himself, 72, 73. And all Histories, 75. And Ludlow, 76. And Whitlocke, 77. And Whitlocke again, 79. And again, 81. His Orthodox and Schismatics, 82. Contradicts himself, 83. Vilifies Mr. Hampden, 84. Contradicts other Histories, 85. Irregular in Parliament, 86. His very impartial Account of the King's Party, 89. Contradicts Whitlocke, 90. And the Parliament, 91, 93. History of Mrs. Venn, *ib.* Contradicts Whitlocke, 93. And himself, *ib.* And Whitlocke, 94. And Ludlow, *ib.* And himself, 98. His Mob and his Gentry, 100. Contradicts himself, 100. And Ludlow and Whitlocke, *ib.* Charg'd with Tyranny by Lord Digby, 101. His handsome Account of the Assembly of Divines, 102. Contradicts Calamy, &c. 103. Pleasant, *ib.* Contradicts the Lord Keeper Littleton, 105. Proves Resistance to be lawful, 106. Contradicts the Parliament, 107. And Ludlow, 108. Excepted in the Indemnity, 109. Contradicts Whitlocke, *ib.* and himself, *ib.* 112. A Delinquent, *ib.* Contradicts Ludlow, 112, 117. and other Histories, 121. Musters the

INDEX.

the Parliament Army, 123. Contradicts Whitlocke, *ib.* A true Passage, 124. Contrary to Boileau, 127. Out in the first Action of the War, 128. and in all the rest, *ib.* Contrary to Ludlow, *ib.* Long Periods, 129. Of the King's rich Guard, 130. Fair and Credible, *ib.* Directly contrary to Ludlow, 131. and Whitlocke, *ib.* and to both again, 132. and to Rusworth, 137. To all History, 139. To Whitlocke, 140. Vilifies Mr. Hampden, 143. Contrary to Whitlocke, *ib.* To Ludlow, 144. And again, 146. To Whitlocke directly, 148. To all History, 151. Usage of Mr. Pym, 155. Quite contrary to all History, 156. To Monsieur des Maiszeaux, 157. To A. Wood, 158. Contrary to Whitlocke, 162. Again, *ib.* And again, *ib.* Again, 163. Sinks the Parliament's Successes, 164. Contrary to Whitlocke, 166. And again, 168. And again, 171. And to Ludlow, *ib.* Against our Constitution, 173. Contrary to History, about Land, 176. The Reverse to Whitlocke, 181. How he put Men out of Countenance, *ib.* 182, 183. The Reverse to Whitlocke, 187, 194. To himself, 196. To Whitlocke, 199. Where faithful, 204. The Reverse to Whitlocke, 205. And to Mr. Locke, *ib.* And Whitlocke, 206. Vilifies the Independents, 210. Reverse to Whitlocke, 211. Well read in the Concordance, 212. Account of Hell Gates, 217. Of the Presbyterians, 218. Agrees with Hudibras, 219. Sophistry, *ib.* Contrary to Ludlow, 220. Calls a Judge infamous, 222. The Reverse to Whitlocke, *ib.* A Comparison between Mr. Hyde and Judge Wyld, 222. Contrary to Whitlocke, 223. Quite contrary to him again, 224. And again, 226. And to Ludlow, 227, 228. And to Whitlocke, 230. And to Archbishop Tillotson, 233. And to Whitlocke, 240. Handsome Turns, 241. Contrary to Ludlow, 245, 330, 338. Politicks, 247, 314. Contrary to Queen, Lords, and Commons, 254. Simple and sincere, 255. Again, *ib.* Contrary to the Fact, 257. Surprisingly so, 262, 265. Contrary to Whitlocke, and the Parliament, *ib.* And to the King, *ib.* To all Histories, 266. To Whitlocke, 268. Quite contrary to him and the Fact, 271. His Character of King

INDEX

King Charles I. compar'd with *Coke's*, 274, 275.
 In great Employ abroad, 276. The Defeat of *Ormond* surpris'd over, 281. Contrary to *Whitlocke*, *ib.*
 Grand Airs, 282. Contrary to *Whitlocke*, 283. Notoriously true, 285. Contrary to *Whitlocke*, 285.
 Directly, 287, 295. He is very busy, 289. Fine Account of Mr. *Ascham's* Murder, 290. And the Gentlemen Murderers, *ib.* 293. What he says of that Fellow's Death, *ib.* Reason and Politicks, 294.
 Contrary to *Whitlocke*, 296, 297, 298, 407. Canr, 301. His fine Account of Mr. *Love's* Death, 302, 305.
 Quite contrary to *Calamy*, 303, *ib.* Exquisite, 305. Directly contrary to *A. Wood*, 306, 309. The Sincerity, *ib.* About *Barebone's* Parliament, 307, 308.
 Contrary to *Whitlocke*, 309, 313. Is for hanging the Judges and Sheriff, 311. What he values Men for, 313. Contrary to *A. Wood*, 313. To *Whitlocke*, 315, 320. Simple and incredible, 317. His Account of General *Blake*, 319. Quite contrary to *Whitlocke*, 320, 327, 329. Eminently sincere, 321. Decorum, 326. Contrary to *Monk*, 327. Contrary to Mr. *Locke*, 332. To all History, 340.
Clarendon and *Whitlocke* compared, and why, 173.
 Clergy, *Whitlocke's* Account of them in King *Charles* the First's Time, 23. Causes of the Distempers, 87. *Calamy's* Account of them, 210. Their Divinity, 218. Prefer'd, and for what, *ib.* Occasion the Scots War, *ib.* 200 of them described, 126. Hate foreign Protestants, 136. Their Innovations, *ib.* The Ruin of the King, 261.
Closters, Twelve hang'd by the King's Soldiers, 165.
Coke's Character of King *James* I. 4. His Account of *Villiers*, 5. Of King *James* the First's Learning, 9.
 King *Charles* the First's Character, 274, 275.
Colchester Siege, why lengthen'd, 248.
Colonels, Parliament, mean Fellows, 114.
Colepeper, Sir *John*, his Speech of Grievances, 47.
Constantine the Great, when he was Christen'd, 231.
 Constitution, the Lord *Clarendon's* History against it, 173.
Copredy-Bridge Fight, contrary to the Fact, 163.
 Court, Sir *Charles*, why he is prais'd, 338.
Costington, Lord, one of the Wise Men, 33.
 Coventry,

INDEX

Coventry, Lord-Keeper, the Earl of *Clarendon's* partial Character of him, 36, 37.
 Counsellors, notable ones, 193. Treat the King ill, 205.
 Wise, 206.
 Creed, put to the Vote, 180.
Cromwell frighted, 312, 324. His Death, &c. 325.
Croke, Col. his great Fault, 313.
 Crown, Rights of, in the Hist. of the Rebellion, 43.
 D.
 Damnation denounc'd by the Lord *Clarendon*, 326.
 Degrees, good only at *Oxford* and *Cambridge*, 113.
Derby, Earl of, murder'd on a Scaffold in cold Blood, 829.
Devil's Work, who did it, 23. His Health drank in *Somersetshire*, 233.
 Devotion, what it is, 27.
Digby, Lord, his Speech against the Earl of *Strafford*, 96. And Grievances, 97. Offers to murder the five Members, 92. His Treachery, 97. Charges the Earl of *Clarendon* with Tyranny, 101.
Diggs, Sir *Dudley's*, Saying of King *James* I. being poison'd, 8.
Dinner begins the Civil War, 104.
 Distempers in the State, Liberty and Law such, 12, 60. The true Causes of them, 87.
 Dregs of the People, Honourable, 317.
Doctors, very Orthodox, 179. Three against Mr. *Locke*, 333.
Dutch, silly, 304. Their Civilities to King *Charles* II. 342. Villified by the Lord *Clarendon*, 343.
 E.
Elizabeth, Queen, spoken against by Lord *Clarendon*, 28. England, lost, 202. Found, and made the World's Envy, by K. *Charles* II. 344.
 Episcopacy, Primitive, the Presbyterians for it, 259, 335. St. Paul's, and the Pope's, 260. Laud's, *ib.*
Essex, Earl of, his brave Saying, 147.
 F.
Fairfax, General, curs'd by the Parliament, 197. Has no Eyes, 235. He has Eyes, 256. Murders Sir *Charles* *Lucas*, 250. Falk.

INDEX.

Falkland, Lord, his Speech against *Land*, 49. And the Bishops, 65. His Saying of the War, 149.
Felton, Dr. a great Judge of Impartial History, 183.
Fleetwood, General, finely Characterized, 17. Again, 331.
Fools, a Nest of them, 269.

G.

Gage, Col. a Papist, his uncommon Merit in the King's Cause, 165. Misrepresented, 169.
Gallows, the best Argument on one side, 203. Again, 136.
Gentlemen, fix very fine ones, 292.
Glory of England, reviv'd by the Revolution, 342.
Goring, General, unserviceable, 196.
Government, none without Prelacy, 54.
Greenland House, not tenable after 'twas beaten down, 166.
Greenville, Sir Richard, a Man of exemplary Justice and Humanity, 169. Escapes Hanging, 203. Deserves it, *ib.* 286.
Grievances, must not be complain'd of, 7. Own'd by Lord Clarendon, 11, 107. Again, 30. Again, 35. In Scotland, 43. In England, 46, 47. Own'd by K. Charles I. 51. Lord Digby's Speech about them, 97. And the Earl of Strafford's, 97, 225. Enumerated, *ib.*
Grimstone, Sir Harbottle, his Speech about Church Discipline, 23. and the Convocation, 60. Misrepresented, 339.

H.

Hamilton, Duke of, his double Character, 277.
Hambden, Mr. vilified, 84. Again, 143.
Hanover, or *Bohemia*, Royal House, by whom hated, 137, 277.
Harley, Mr. how he got his Addresses, 58.
Hell-Gates, when they were open'd, 217.
High-Commission-Court, Speech against it, 74.
Historical Narration, a fine kind of it, 203. Confounded with the Libellous, 224.
History, made up of certain Words, 13. Writers of it use no Conscience, 18. Of the Rebellion, how founded,

INDEX.

founded, 20. Nothing but Assertion, 21. A Rarity, 27. Merry, 40. Solid Reasoning, 43. Merry, 78, 95. Founded on Contradiction, 110. Why it was conceal'd so long, 172. Against our Constitution, 173. Sober, 198. More Sober, 202. More Sober, 215. To be imitated, 145. Merry, 147. Again, 241. Outdoes all other Histories, and in what, 297.
Horner, Sir John, a brave Saying of his, 121.
Holland, Earl of, how terrible, 448.
Holiness, Beauty of, described by Lord Clarendon, 25, 24, 27.
Hudibras, and the History of the Rebellion, 219.
Huntington, Major, converted by *Enkon Basilike*, 218. The best Officer, *ib.*
Hydes, a malignant Family, 301.

J.

Jamaica, who against keeping it, 317.
James I. a wise King, 2. More wise still, *ib.* What *Henry IV.* of France said of him, 3. His Praises of the Kirk, *ib.* What he said of the Common-Prayer, 3. *Coke's* Character of him, 4. Admonish'd by the Kirk, *ib.* Breaks his Promise, 6. Supposed to be poison'd, 7. His Learning, Eloquence, and Politicks, 8, 9. And excellent Government, 21.
Jenkyne, Mr. the Minister, how Impudent, 258.
Jests, the Lord Clarendon's, about seeking God, 40, 176. More such, 209, 217, 225, 234, 145, 269, 294.
Jests, Cavalier, awkward and insipid, 153.
IF's, many very wise ones, 24, 32. Several, 33. Again, 34. A bold one, 35. Another, 41. Another, 43. Another, 56. Another, 70. Two more, 71. Three on one side, and one on another, 99. Two more on the former side, 99. Another, *ib.* Four more, 102. Three more, 111. A wonderful one, 199. Three more such, 203. One on the Parliament side, 118. Two more, *ib.* 119. One more, 128. *Whitlocke's*, with the Reason, 132, 135. Four more, 133. One against another, *ib.* All without a Reason, 134. Support the History, *ib.* Another, 140. Another, 141. More *IF's*, 246. A most necessary one, 297. Again, 311. Another, 312. An
A a im-

INDEX.

important one, 315. Another, 316. Two of the Author's, 318. Another of the Earl's, 330.
Impudence, 258.
Independents, what Names the Earl calls them, 209.
Arch-Bishop Usher one, according to *Baxter*, 210.
 More Names, 232. Their loyal Address to the King in Exile, 321.
Ingoldsby's Regiment, Address first for the King's Trial, 262. His Victory, 336. Made Knight of the Bath, *ib.* Earl of Clarendon praises him, 340.
Infirmities, many in one Paragraph, 223. Another, 225.
Jones, Col. his Honesty and Bravery, 273.
Irish Massacre and Rebellion, a Distemper only, 152.
Irish Rebels pray'd for, 23, 219. In favour, 193.
 Court'd by King Charles I. 185. Not Rebels, 192.
 Pray'd for, 126. Sent for by the King, 153. They scorn the Roundheads, 155. In League with *Ormond*, 272, 273.
Ireton, a Coward, 271. Lord Clarendon's Account of him, 304.
Judgments, God's, confounded with humane Passions, 192, 142, 150.
Justice, what is, 18.
Justices of the Peace, dreadful, 238.
Juxon, Bishop, suffers the King to be cheated, 20.

K.

Kirk of Scotland, prais'd by K. James I. 3. They admonish and offend him, 4.
Knightsbridge Army, a new one, 315.
Knipperdoling, his Forgery, 231.

L.

Laudeans, worse than the *Papists*, 300.
Laud, Bishop, his Ingratitude to Lord-Keeper *Williams*, 16, 17. Arch-Bishop *Abbot's* Saying of him, 17.
 Contrary to Lord Clarendon's, *ib.* Orders the Profaning the Sabbath, 17. Shuts up the Dutch Church, *ib.* His true Character, 19. A secret *Papist*, 21.
 An Informer, 26. Over-wise, 38. Lord Falkland speaks against him, 49. Treats with the Pope, 176.
 How his Integrity is proved, 157. Condemn'd to be Hang'd, Drawn, and Quarter'd, 178. Law,

INDEX.

Law, an unlawful one, 97.
League and Covenant occasions much Wit, 230.
Lener of the Royallists routing the Roundheads at *Marston-Moor*, 164.
Leſtrange, Roger, raises an Army for the King, 258, 241. Condemn'd to be hang'd, 239.
Liturgy of England, what K. James I. said against it, 3.
Llibery, what *Boileau* says of it, 127.
Locke, Mr. his Saying of Sham-Plots, 289. His Observation of the *Papists*, 301. Three Doctors against him, 533.
Lockhart, Mr. to be made a *Mareschal of France*, 337.
London, a Sink, 58. Loyal and Rebellious, 89. Rebellious, 98.
Looks, ill ones, 145.
Loudon, Earl of, his Speech against Prelacy, 179.
Ludlow, not so partial as *Clarendon*, 94. His good Stile, 108.

M.

Madmen, Presbyterian Parsons, 126.
Magnanimity of King Charles I. 122.
Manning the Traytor, a Servant to the Lord Clarendon, 315.
Manwaring, Dr. an Incendiary, 218.
Marston-Moor, the King's great Victory there, 164.
Mary Queen of Scots, why so much commended, 28, 29.
 Hates the Presbyterians, 29.
Maynard, Sir John, makes a Speech to the Parliament in the Tower, 226.
Mayors of Towns, made by Noise, 114.
Mazarine, kill'd by K. Charles II's Restoration, 330.
Militia, offer'd by Charles I. 207. Why not agreed to, 213.
Milton out in *Hell-Gates*, 217.
Ministers of the Gospel, where they cannot be made, 179.
Modesty of the Cavaliers, 130. Of a Race of People, 258.
Morrice, the Assassin, his fine Character, 251.
Monmouth, Duke of, how murder'd in cold Blood, 298.
Mongrel Parliament, King Charles I's, 201. Reasons for calling it, 151. Great Hopes of them, 154.

INDEX.

Montagu, Dr. an Incendiary, 218.
Monstrous Proposition, 254, 255.
Montrevil, Monf. a powerful Mediator, 207.
Monk, a wild Thought of his, 280. Makes peace with the *Irish* Rebels, 288. His Addressees *Pro* and *Con*, 327. Hangs his dear Friend, *ib.* He praises the *Rump*, *ib.* A rigid Commonwealth's-Man, 328, 334. His Enthusiasm, 331. Did not restore the King, 333. Abjures him, 334. A Presbyterian, 335. again, 336. Calls the Cavaliers Rebels, 336. and justifies the King's Death, 337.
Montrose offers to assassinate *Hamilton*, 84.
Mordaunt, Mrs. whom she bribed, 321.
Murderers envy'd, 292.
Murmurings, dreadful ones, 236.

N.

Names, to be remember'd, 300.
Newbury-Fight, contrary to the Fact, 148, 171.
Nobility and Gentry, why they sided with the King, 129.

O.

Oaths, by whom despised, 146.
Officers, never heard of, 195.
Oliver Cromwell, fasts and prays, 225. And makes a Covenant with the Devil, 231. His Beginnings, 238. Prefers the Lord *Clarendon*'s Brother-in-Law, 234.
Oncle, Nephew to the *Irish* Rebel, in favour, 193.
Ormond, Marquiss, how terrible, 226. Leagues with the *Irish* Rebels, 272. The good Terms he gave them, 273. How sturdy, 302.
Orthodox, who are only so, 113.
Oxford Counsels full of Distraction, 193. Counsellors treat the King ill, 205. Convocation vote the Covenant illegal, wicked, and perjur'd, 215. Library destroy'd by the Cavaliers, 235. University promise to stand by the Parliament, 128. Send their Plate to the King, *ib.* Lord there, Politick, 151.

P.

Pack of Hounds, the Names of them, 229. Another Pack, *ib.* 114.

INDEX.

Papists, in the Parliament Service, 116. Again, 150.
Parliament-Colonels, Tinkers, 165. Five that are not so, *ib.*
Parliament, last of *K. James* and first of *K. Charles*, misrepresented by Lord *Clarendon*, 6, 10.
Parliament 1640, a Picture of them by Lord *Clarendon*, 20, 46. Call'd Rebels, 49. Tricksters, 58, 64. Charg'd with Blood, 74. Saucy, 78. Disorderly, 79. Leaders are Rascals, *ib.* Illiterate and Schismatical, 81. Knaves and Fools, 83. Lyars, Black-heads and Idiots, 87. And again, 99. Began the War with a Dinner, 104. Their Barbarity, 164. Blood-thirsty, 170. A Scandal to the Christian Religion, 179. Vote against the Creed, 180. A Pack of Knaves again, 186. Pickpockets, &c. 188. Curse their Army, 197. Miss a good Opportunity, 207. Cowards, 214. Tyrants, *ib.* Hereticks, *ib.* Liberties, *ib.* Compar'd to a Kennel of Hounds, 215. Prais'd by the Earl, 220. A Kennel of Hounds again, 229. Knaves and Fools, 123. Misrepresented, 133. All they did, irregular and unjust, 135. Their Character by *Ludlow*, *ib.* Vindicated, 138. Afraid of the Earl of *Holland*, 248. Force put upon them by the Soldiers, 267.
Parliament, Ramp, afraid of the *Scots*, 271. Blood-thirsty, *ib.* Prais'd by *Monk*, 327.
Parsons, two Presbyterian, 179.
Passage, remarkable one, 222, 223, 224. A fine one, 224. A pregnant one, 257. Another, 264.
Passive Obedience, banter'd by the Lord *Clarendon*, 106.
Pembroke, Earl of, his Dialogue with Mr. *Hyde*, 186.
Periods, round, 80.
Plot, Presbyterian and Popish, 284.
Piety, what it is, 18.
Places, good or bad, according to the Party, 134, 255.
Politicks, false, 174. Extraordinary, 151.
Pomfret-Castle, stands high, 253.
Pope, what he said of King *Charles* II. 310.
Presbyterians, in a Plot with the *Papists*, 208, 211.
Parsons govern Mens Wives, 235. Have good Lungs, 237. Blasphemous, 125. Are for Absolution, 134. Compar'd to Mastiff-Dogs, 255. Common Allegations for them, 256. Aa 3 Pre-

INDEX.

Preterence, under, a useful Term, 101.
Prentices, Gentlemen, 321.
Principles, *Englishe*, Instances of their good Effect, 174.
Prophecy in the Lord *Clarendon's* History, 191.
Protestation, Presbyterians against the King's Death, 269.
Protestants, rare ones, in King *Charles* the First's Time, 22.
Prynne, wrongfully punish'd, 53. Verses on him, 54.
Puritans, Blood-thirsty, 170.
Pym, Mr. his Speech of Grievances, 44. Of the Justice of the Parliament, 138. How handsomely the Earl uses him, 155.
Q.
Quality Ladies, follow the King's Camp, 202. Came from Ireland, ib.
Queen's Letters to the King, printed, 200. Governs the King, 201. For the Presbyterians, 283.
R.
Rainsborough, Col. his Murder justified, 251, 252.
Reason, no Shadow of it, 255.
Rebellion, Grand, prov'd no Rebellion by the Lord *Clarendon*, 106, 107.
Rebels, the Cavaliers so called by *Monks*, 336.
Rebels, the Parliament so called, 49.
Republicans, all Presbyterians, 256.
Religion, how some describe it, 284.
Resistance, prov'd to be lawful in the History of the Rebellion, 106. Justified by King *Charles* the Second's blessed Parliament, 170. By common Sense, 219.
Restoration, by the Presbyterians, 258.
Right and Reason inverted, 149.
Revelation, new, where it is, 263.
Richard, miserable, who he was, 326.
Roman Catholics, better than some Protestants, 316.
Roselli, Cardinal, his Treaty with *Laud*, 176.
Rout better than Victory, 294.
Royalists, invincible, 244, &c. Bewitch'd 248, 249. How well they lov'd the King, 262. Their Piety, 27. The Opinion of them in France, 297. Their mira-

INDEX.

miraculous Qualities, 302. Their Distress, 314, 318. Understand Trade, 317. For what they are Stigmatiz'd, 320. Forge an Address, 322. Help'd very little to restore the King, 329. The Sober Party, 338, 339.
Rudyard, Sir *Benjamin*, his Speech about the Church, 22.
S.
Sacrilege, what it is, 191.
Say, Lord, his wrong Character, 68.
Schism-Bill, contrived by good Heads, 334.
Scotland, Church of, much obliged to Lord *Clarendon*, 24. Nafty, 284.
Scots, how they sold the King, 213. Despised by *Cromwell*, 240. Praised by the Earl, 286.
Scripture, what it says of Presbyters and Bishops, 256.
Seeking of God, the Earl of *Clarendon's* great Jest, 176.
Unknown to the Cavaliers, ib. 145, 210, 217, 34, 270, 294, 331.
Sermons, Presbyterians, a Sin against the Holy Ghost, 127.
Sham-Plots, the Lord *Clarendon's*, 289. Again, 333.
Shippon, General, his Bravery, 168.
Sibbors, Dr. his Divinity, 228.
Singers, Psalm, who they were, 160.
Sober Men, who they were, 88. How they thought, 175, 152, 263, 318. None Republicans, 338. Cavaliers, 339.
Somerset County, their One and All Petition, 189. Again, 195.
Spoilswood, Sir *Robert*, a wise Scotsman, 212, 277.
Star-Chamber Court praised, 75.
Spurstow, Dr. what a fierce Man he was, 257.
Spirit, *Englishe*, is Insolence, 283.
Stawel, Sir *John*, his One and All, 190. His Actions, 119.
State, Ministers of, in the Moon, 310.
Strafford, Earl of, no Saint, 19. Earl of *Clarendon* and Lord *Digby's* Speeches against him, 47, 96. His Treasonable Advice, 50. His Speech of Grievances, 97.
Stewart, Dr. against Foreign Protestants, 279.
Substantial Men, all on the King's Side, 129, 137, 141, 142.

A 2 4

Swift

INDEX.

Swiss Guards, *Cromwell's*, 317.
Sydney, Algernon, who like him, 207.

T.

Table, *Communion*, why remov'd 27. and Rail'd in, 28.
Tedworth, *Demon*, and *Villiers's Ghost*, 14.
Texts of Scripture, how abus'd, 125.
Thurloe, Secretary, a great Fool, 315.
Tillotson, Arch-Bishop, against Detraction, 233.
Times, Happy, 12. Confused, a Sign of it, 237. More happy ones, 333.
Townsend, Sir *Horatio*, his good Character, 328.
Trooper, General *Fleetwood* one, 129.

V.

Vane, Sir *Henry*, misrepresented, 266. Abus'd 331.
 His Character by *Ludlow*, ib.
Venn, Mrs. her History, 91.
Victory, *Ingoldsby's*, 336.
Verses on *Prynne*, 54.
Unanimity, Instances of it, 285.
Villanies, many, 386.
Universities foreign, despis'd, 113.
Voices, ill ones, 145.
Vowel, the School-master, his Magnanimity, 309.
Usher, Arch-Bishop, an Independent, according to *Baxter*, 210.
Uxbridge Treaty, contrary to the Fact, 179, & seq.

W.

War, Civil, who began it, 95, 126. How denounced by the Parliament, 115. Justified by Mr. *Chillingworth*, 161. Lord *Falkland's* Saying of it, 149. Different from all Wars, ib. Begun by the King, 254. Justified by the Parliament, 335.
Weaver, one ordained, 301.
Webster, Dr. when his History should have been published, 335.
Whitford, the Assassin, his Merit, 287, 288.
Winlocke disagrees with Lord *Clarendon*, 7, 10. Again, ib. His Memorials garbled, 167. The Lord *Clarendon's* Equal, ib.

Wild,

INDEX.

Wild, Judge, call'd Infamous, 222. Compared with the Lord *Clarendon*, ib. His Infamy again, 264.
Wildman, Major, how inconsiderable, 310. Abus'd, 323.
Williams, Lord-Keeper, misrepresented, 14, & seq.
Willis, Sir *Richard*, his Saying of calling in the King, 301.
William III. how a wise Prince, 1.
Wilson, what he says to prove King *James* poison'd, 8.
Wisdom of a Prince, how proved, 1. Of no use to the wife ones, 99.
Wise Men, the Lord *Clarendon's*, 24. Again, 30. Again, 32. and again, 33. Again, 37. and again, 88. Their Sage Sentiments, 112. Not wise enough, 112. Evil Counsellors, ib. How they thought, 175. How wise, 206. Again, 150, 152. Their Counsels thrown away, 154. The ill Effects of them, 242. More of them, 277. And their Counsels, 278. Their Speculations, 12, 329.
Woman, Dutch, why she miscarried, 276.
Words, plenty of them, 322.
Words, used by certain Historians, 13. Plenty of them, 59.
Worship, comely, what it is, 32.
 Y.
Year, 1648, described, 272.
York, Duke, an old Friend of *Turenne's*, 295.
Young Gentlemen, pretty ones, 242. More such, 321.

THE END.

ERRATA.

PAGE 3. l. 27. r. *Tul.* P. 26. l. 13. r. *Sex.* P. 36. l. 3. r. *an.* P. 122. l. 14. r. *and his.* P. 138. l. 2. r. *so many.* P. 152. l. 27. r. *visible that.* P. 165. l. 24. r. *Twenty.* P. 177. l. 14. r. *Port.* P. 206. l. 8. r. *having been.* P. 242. l. 4. r. *lie out.* P. 261. l. 23. r. *War if.* ib. l. 25. r. *The.* P. 282. l. 13. r. *Port of.* P. 284. l. 28. r. *Then Order and Decency are.* P. 316. l. 3. r. *an IE.* P. 319. l. 9. r. *tells us.*

*BOOKS lately Printed for J. Pemberton,
at the Golden Buck against St. Dunstan's
Church in Fleetstreet.*

1. **T**HE Works of the most Rev. Dr. John Tillotson, late Lord Arch-Bishop of Canterbury, containing Two Hundred Fifty-four Sermons and Discourses on several Occasions; together with the Rule of Faith. To which are annexed, Prayers composed by him for his own Use; a Discourse to his Servants before the Sacrament; and a Form of Prayer composed by him, for the Use of King William. Together with three Tables to the Whole. One of the Texts preach'd upon; another of the Places of Scripture occasionally explained; a third, an Alphabetical Table of Matter. The Ninth Edition, Price 2*l.* 10*s.*
2. The Works of John Locke, Esq. In three Volumes, containing, 1. An Essay on Human Understanding. In Four Books. 2. A Letter to the Right Reverend, Edward Lord Bishop of Worcester, concerning some Passages relating to Mr. Locke's Essay of Human Understanding; in a late Discourse of his Lordship's in Vindication of the Trinity. 3. Mr. Locke's Reply to the Right Reverend the Bishop of Worcester's Answer to his Letter. 4. Mr. Locke's Reply to the Bishop of Worcester's Answer to his Second Letter. 5. Some Considerations of the Consequences of the lowering of Interest, and raising the Value of Money. In a Letter sent to a Member of Parliament, 1691. 6. Short Observations on a printed Paper, intitled, For encouraging the Coining Silver Money in England and after for keeping it here. 7. Farther Observations concerning raising the Value of Money, &c. 8. Two Treatises of Government. 9. A Letter concerning Toleration. 10. A Second Letter concerning Toleration. 11. A Third Letter for Toleration. To the Author of the Third Letter concerning Toleration. 12. The Reasona-

410

COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY LIBRARIES



0023630604

942.062
011

DUE DATE

MAY 24 1991

MAY 24 1990

JUN 21 1991

MAY 31 1990

201-6503

Printed
in USA

942
011

FEB 7 1963

